



Clinton
She's back.
How she did it



Obama
Mr. Change
recharges



McCain
The GOP's new
man to beat

Plus

Joe Klein on the real Hillary
Dahlia Lithwick on what
women voters want

TIME

New Hampshire Special

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7 | TO OUR READERS

8 | 10 QUESTIONS

Madeleine Albright on Kosovo and potatoes

9 | POSTCARD: PAKISTAN

10 | INBOX



Madeleine Albright Advice for the next President, page 8

BRIEFING

13 | THE MOMENT

In Roger Clemens vs. Congress, baseball saves its best drama for the off-season

14 | WASHINGTON MEMO

Iran's high-seas hijinks; a diplomatic coup for Bush

15 | WORLD SPOTLIGHT The Mob, bad government, heaps of uncollected trash—Naples stinks

16 | VERBATIM Jesse

Ventura on Jesus; a window washer's miracle survival

19 | PEOPLE

Kidman's kid; *Idol* loser, music winner; beards that speak louder than words

20 | MILESTONES

Farewell to Bert Bolin, a climate-change champion

IN THE ARENA

22 | JOE KLEIN

Counted out, Hillary Clinton unleashes anger, humor, grace and tears to capture a stunning moment of her own

Nicole Kidman Announcing her maternity leave, page 19

PAGE 7

13

22 | 24

55

61

68



Hillary Clinton What a comeback, what a race, page 24



Kenya A symbol of African ascent now in peril, page 42

On the cover: Photograph by Nick Wright—AP. Insets, from left: Anthony Suau for TIME; Chip Somodevilla—Getty; Charles Dharapak—AP

THE WELL

COVER STORY

24 | NATION: ELECTION 2008 Hall to the Ballot!

The voters of Iowa and New Hampshire ignore all the pompous punditry to kick off an intoxicating election. Also: interviews with Clinton and McCain

41 | COMMENTARY

Independents' Day

Why McCain connects with free agents

42 | WORLD: KENYA

Renaissance Wrecked

Turmoil in Africa's model nation distresses the U.S.

46 | SCIENCE

Why is the universe so lumpy? Plus: a new Mercury probe; your brain on faith

48 | TUNED IN

As the election flips the script, so do the late-night talk shows

LIFE

55 | TECHNOLOGY Who needs earbuds? With their warm sound and funky, retro vibe, vinyl records are getting a spin from iPod kids

57 | LIVING Cheap, green, and often unclean: cloth diapers make a comeback

58 | HEALTH Timed just right for your New Year's resolution, 10 new books on how to lose weight



ARTS

61 | MOVIES The writers' strike may dampen the awards shows, but we'll still salute the stars. Eight sterling acts, from Clooney to Hoffman to Blanchett to ... Steve Zahn?

67 | DOWNTIME Woody loves London; the *Terminator* TV show; a weepy *Affair* on DVD; two albums rewrite the movie sound track

Philip Seymour Hoffman Another Oscar? Page 61

68 | ESSAY The local-food movement is just wrong. Joel Stein on the pleasures of a far-flung feast





ENBREL is indicated for the treatment of adult patients (18 years or older) with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are candidates for systemic therapy or phototherapy.

What important information do I need to know about taking prescription ENBREL?

ENBREL is a type of protein called a tumor necrosis factor (TNF) blocker that blocks the action of a substance your body's immune system makes called TNF. People with an immune disease, such as rheumatoid arthritis, ankylosing spondylitis, psoriatic arthritis, and psoriasis, have too much TNF in their bodies.

ENBREL can reduce the amount of TNF in the body to normal levels, helping to treat your disease. But, in doing so, ENBREL can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections.

All medicines have side effects, including ENBREL. Possible side effects of ENBREL include:

• Serious infections

—Many occurred in people prone to infection, such as those with advanced or poorly controlled diabetes

—Some serious infections have been fatal

—Rare cases of tuberculosis have occurred

• What not to do

—Do not start ENBREL if you have an infection, such as an open sore or the flu, or are allergic to ENBREL or its components

• What to do

—Tell your doctor if you are prone to infection or have had hepatitis B

—Stop ENBREL if a serious infection occurs

—Contact your doctor if you have questions about ENBREL or develop an infection

—Tell your doctor if you have ever been treated for heart failure

FOR MODERATE TO SEVERE PLAQUE PSORIASIS

"I HAD ENOUGH OF MY PSORIASIS."

So, I asked my dermatologist about ENBREL.™

For many, ENBREL gets skin clearer fast—within 2 months—and keeps it clearer month after month. Improvement lasted up to 9 months for a majority that saw results. While it doesn't work for everyone, and may not clear you completely, it's helped many patients get clearer skin. Your results may vary. In medical studies, nearly half of patients saw significant improvement.

Learn more about moderate to severe plaque psoriasis, ENBREL, and patient support. Call 1-877-ENBREL4 or visit www.enbrel.com

Talk to your dermatologist today about ENBREL.
BECAUSE ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

- Serious nervous system disorders, such as multiple sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes
 - Tell your doctor if you have ever had any of these disorders or if you develop them after starting ENBREL
- Rare reports of serious blood disorders (some fatal)
- Contact your doctor immediately if you develop symptoms, such as persistent fever, bruising, bleeding, or paleness

- In medical studies of all TNF blockers, including ENBREL, a higher rate of lymphoma (a type of cancer) was seen compared to the general population. The risk of lymphoma may be up to several-fold higher in rheumatoid arthritis and psoriasis patients
 - The role of TNF blockers, including ENBREL, in the development of lymphoma is unknown
- ENBREL can cause injection site reaction

ENBREL is available by prescription only. If you have any questions about this information, be sure to discuss them with your doctor.

See the next page for Important Patient Information about ENBREL.



Important Information for Patients About Enbrel® (etanercept)



This brief summary of the package insert contains information for patients and their caregivers about ENBREL. This brief summary does not include all information about ENBREL and does not take the place of discussions with your doctor about your treatment. Please read this important information before you start taking ENBREL and discuss any questions about ENBREL with your doctor.

What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?

ENBREL is a medicine that affects your immune system. ENBREL can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections, including tuberculosis (TB), have happened in patients taking ENBREL. Some patients have died from these serious infections.

Before starting ENBREL, tell your doctor if you:

- think you have an infection
- are being treated for an infection
- have signs of an infection, such as a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms
- have any open sores on your body
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes or an immune system problem. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have tuberculosis (TB), or if you have been in close contact with someone who has had tuberculosis
- use the medicine Kineret® (anakinra)
- have or have had hepatitis B

After starting ENBREL, if you get an infection, any sign of an infection including a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms, or have any open sores on your body, **call your doctor right away.**

ENBREL can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse.

What is ENBREL?

ENBREL is a medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker. ENBREL is used in adults to treat:

- moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA). ENBREL can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
- psoriatic arthritis. ENBREL can be used with methotrexate in patients who have not responded well to methotrexate alone.
- ankylosing spondylitis (AS)
- chronic, moderate to severe plaque psoriasis

ENBREL is used in children with moderately to severely active polyarticular-course juvenile rheumatoid arthritis (JRA) after one or more JRA medicines have been used and not worked well.

ENBREL can help reduce joint damage, and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. ENBREL can reduce the amount of TNF in the body to normal levels and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?" and "What are the possible side effects of ENBREL?"

Children must weigh at least 138 pounds to use ENBREL single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjector. Children who weigh less than 138 pounds should use a different form of ENBREL.

ENBREL has not been studied in children under 2 years of age.

Who should not use ENBREL?

Do not use ENBREL if you:

- have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis)
- have ever had an allergic reaction to ENBREL.

What should you tell your doctor before starting ENBREL?

ENBREL may not be right for you. Before starting ENBREL, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have an infection. (See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?")
- have seizures, any numbness or tingling, or a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis
- have heart failure
- are scheduled to have surgery
- are scheduled for any vaccines. All vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting ENBREL. Patients taking ENBREL should not receive live vaccines.
- are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle shield on the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjector contains latex.

Tell your doctor if you are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding. ENBREL has not been studied in pregnant women or nursing mothers.

Pregnancy Registry: Amgen has a registry for pregnant women exposed to ENBREL. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Patients are encouraged to contact the registry themselves or ask their doctors to contact the registry for them by calling 1-877-311-8972.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements.

Your doctor will tell you if it is okay to take your other medicines while taking ENBREL. Especially, tell your doctor if you take:

- Kineret® (anakinra). You have a higher chance for serious infections when taking ENBREL with Kineret®.
- cyclophosphamide. You may have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking ENBREL with cyclophosphamide.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

What are the possible side effects of ENBREL?

Serious side effects have happened in people taking ENBREL, including:

- **Serious Infections.** See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL?"
- **Nervous system problems** such as Multiple Sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have occurred in rare cases. Symptoms include numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms and legs, and dizziness.
- **Blood problems.** In rare cases, your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. This can lead to death. Symptoms include a fever that doesn't go away, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale.
- **Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have.**

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Thousand Oaks, CA 91320

Wyeth® Marketed by Amgen and Wyeth Pharmaceuticals

Immunex U.S. Patent Numbers: 5,395,760; 5,605,690; 5,945,397; 6,201,105; 6,572,852; Re. 36,755
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Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles and feet.

• **Allergic reactions.** Signs of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.

• **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Symptoms may go away when you stop taking ENBREL.

• **Lymphoma (a type of cancer).** People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis may have a higher chance for getting lymphoma.

Call your doctor right away if you develop any of the above symptoms.

Common side effects of ENBREL include:

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (sinus infections)
- **Headaches**

These are not all the side effects with ENBREL. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

How do I take ENBREL?

ENBREL is given by injection under the skin. You should use ENBREL under the guidance of your doctor. Do not administer ENBREL until you have been trained by a qualified health care professional in how to inject ENBREL.

Adults

The recommended dosage for ENBREL for adult patients with RA, psoriatic arthritis, or AS is 50 mg per week given under the skin. The recommended dosage for adult patients with plaque psoriasis is a 50 mg dose twice a week (3 or 4 days apart) given for 3 months. After 3 months, the dosage is reduced to 50 mg once a week.

Children

The recommended dose of ENBREL for children with juvenile rheumatoid arthritis is based upon the child's body weight. Your child's doctor will tell you the correct amount of ENBREL your child should take.

What should I do if I miss a dose of ENBREL?

If you forget to take ENBREL when you are supposed to, contact your doctor to find out when to take your next dose of ENBREL.

General information about ENBREL

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Patient Information leaflet. Do not use ENBREL for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ENBREL to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This is a summary of the most important information about ENBREL. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about ENBREL that was written for health care professionals. For more information call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2735).

ENBREL is available by prescription only.

This brief summary is based on ENBREL Physician and Patient Prescribing Information revised on December 01, 2006.



To Our Readers

Our Campaign Staff.

Meet the writers, editors and bloggers who bring you TIME's nonpareil—and nonstop—coverage of the election

EXPERIENCE VS. CHANGE. THAT'S THE choice that has come to define the 2008 presidential campaign. But at TIME, we pride ourselves on never having to choose between the two. To cover what is the most wide-open election in our lifetime, we have assembled the premier political team in journalism, a group that combines decades of campaign experience with the agility required to keep readers informed across a range of platforms. From the guerrilla Web videos on our *Swampland* blog to Mark Halperin's *The Page* at TIME.com to our ongoing coverage in the print magazine to round-the-clock TV appearances by TIME correspondents, we offer the world's smartest, most inventive campaign coverage in every medium. All of which adds up to our putting the news in context the way we always have: with great authority, great reporting and great writing, and now great video too.

When you talk about experience plus change, you have to begin with the best political columnist in America, Joe Klein. This is his ninth presidential campaign, and from his energy and enthusiasm, you'd think it was his first. In addition to his weekly column in the magazine, *In the Arena*, Klein is a prolific blogger on TIME.com's *Swampland*. That's where our political team can break news, gossip about new polls or commercials and do explainer videos. The *Swampland* cast includes national political correspondent Karen Tumulty, who is covering her sixth presidential campaign; Washington bureau chief Jay Carney; and Ana Marie Cox, the former Wonkette, whose witty writing and fun explainer videos help give *Swampland* its flair. (Working with Cox to put them together is TIME.com politics producer Caitlin Thompson.) Another regular TIME.com feature, *The Page*, provides a daily webcast by editor-at-large Halperin and 24/7 breaking-news coverage from the trail. It has become indispensable to anyone who loves politics.

The past week has showcased our team at its best. Michael Scherer, a former correspondent for *Salon.com*, penned a dispatch on Governor Mike Huckabee



Michael Scherer
The correspondent covers Mike Huckabee in New Hampshire



Jay Carney
The Washington bureau chief follows John McCain in New Hampshire



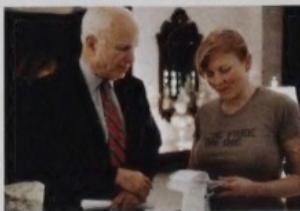
Amy Sullivan
The Nation editor guides our coverage from Washington and New York



Joe Klein Covering Hillary Clinton, the commentator pauses with an admirer



Karen Tumulty
Our national political correspondent is in Iowa City



for this week's issue, while the indefatigable Jay Newton-Small, with the Obama campaign, posted numerous scoops on *Swampland*. Assistant managing editor Michael Duffy brilliantly analyzed the results out of Iowa and New Hampshire on TIME.com. The magazine cover story was written by editors-at-large Nancy

Gibbs, who has written more than 100 TIME covers, and David Von Drehle, who came to us from the *Washington Post* and wrote and reported the Oct. 22, 2007, cover on Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts. Overseeing our coverage is Nation editor Amy Sullivan and Daniel Eisenberg, who edits all our online political coverage and never seems to sleep.

So follow the 2008 election with us in print and online. Experience plus change. There's no better combination.

Rick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

10 Questions.

As Secretary of State, she managed crises from Kosovo to Korea. Her new book counsels the next President on how to restore America's standing in the world. **Madeleine Albright will now take your questions**

How will President Bush be judged when he leaves office?

Dennis Su, SAN MARINO, CALIF.
I wrote my book *Memo to the President Elect* for the next President because they are going to have a very hard job to do. Our reputation is the lowest that it has ever been. This presidency has done a great deal of damage, and I'm very glad that it will end.

You have campaigned for Hillary Clinton. If she wins, will you accept a job as Secretary of State again?

Rafael Mercene, MANILA
For somebody who loves foreign policy, being Secretary is the best job in the world—but it doesn't happen twice. The only person who was Secretary twice was Daniel Webster. I am not Daniel Webster.

What was your greatest accomplishment as Secretary?

Lester Palencia Ordan

SANTA CRUZ, PHILIPPINES
I was able to be part of a decision that saved a lot of lives in Kosovo. Afterward, I went to the capital, Pristina, and saw crowds of people with signs that said THANK YOU, USA. I am now thrilled that there is a generation of girls in Kosovo whose first name is Madeleine.

Did you ever make a decision that risked your credibility as a human-rights supporter?

Armando Davila, MEXICO CITY
The hardest part of having that kind of power is deciding where to act and under what circumstances. I was the United Nations ambassador at the time of Rwanda, and I



wish that we had been able to do more at the time.

What can be done to help stop the political unrest in Kenya?

Erickson Young, TAMPA, FLA.
I think that the U.S. and the African Union should try to help resolve some of the political questions. Should the elections be rerun? Is there some way to get a power-sharing agreement between the current President and his challenger? It is important to

get outside assistance before things get totally out of hand.

Should the West use China's Olympics to highlight environmental and human-rights concerns, or should we simply step back and enjoy the sports?

Ali Stratton, LONDON

It is impossible to separate those things. People are very concerned about China's behavior, both internally and externally. I hope people enjoy the sports, and I hope

the Americans do well, but I think it's very hard to expect that politics will not enter in.

What are your thoughts on the immigration debate?

Seyi Falade, NEW YORK CITY
I'm troubled by it. When [my family] came from England during the war, people said, "You are welcome here. What can we do to help?" I am a beneficiary of the American people's generosity, and I hope we can have comprehensive immigration legislation that allows this country to continue to be enriched by those who were not born here.

Should the Constitution be amended to allow foreign-born Americans to run for President?

Maggie Devich, LOS ANGELES
I have never thought about it for myself, but I do think that many foreign-born Americans could be President. There should be a requirement that instead someone has to be raised in the U.S. for 25 years or something. For me, being raised in a free America made all the difference.

What advice do you have for women who want respect from their male colleagues?

Dana Philbin, CHICAGO
Women have to be active listeners and interrupters—but when you interrupt, you have to know what you are talking about. I also think it is important for women to help one another. I have a saying: There is a special place in hell for women who don't.

You have dealt with very stressful situations. What do you turn to for comfort food?

Mills Chapman, PHILADELPHIA
[Laughs.] Mashed potatoes. I try not to, because I hope people will notice I have lost a lot of weight since I was Secretary. [Instead] I try to seek comfort in apples.

To watch a video interview with Albright and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

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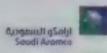
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Postcard: Pakistan. It's a wonderful destination, if you don't mind the rioting, looting and general mayhem. Our correspondent gives his tips to the ever hopeful Ministry of Tourism

BY SIMON ROBINSON

THE YOUNG MAN AT THE AIRPORT approached me with a nervous smile and a hint of hesitation. He was from the Ministry of Tourism, he explained. Would I be so kind as to fill out a survey on my stay in Pakistan? The previous week had been eventful, to say the least. I landed in Lahore on Thursday, Dec. 27. As I left the airport for my hotel, my cell phone pinged with an SMS from my wife: "Bhutto dead in Rawalpindi blast." The following few days were a bit of a blur, and then on New Year's Eve I fell sick with some intestinal bug that took two days to beat. "I'm not sure I'm the best person to help you," I told the man. But he persisted, so I was soon filling out the three-page form, which mixed hard data (nationality, places I visited, number of nights I spent in hotels) with questions

like "During your stay which features did you like most?"

The hardest two questions came at the end. "Would you please identify the problems you faced during the trip?" the first of them read. "You want me to be truthful?" I asked the survey man, who hovered over me to make sure I didn't skip any questions. "Of course," he said, smiling. "Information will help us improve. We need to hear the truth."

The truth is, Pakistan could be—should be—an incredible tourist destination. It offers wonderful Mughal ruins, evocative British colonial architecture, world-class hiking and climbing in the Karakoram Mountains, gorgeous rolling green meadows, captivating culture, great food (especially the fruits and kebabs) and some of the best carpet shops in South Asia. Unfortunately, it is also regularly described as the world's most dangerous country—which, while more intriguing than slogans like



Moment of calm Diners enjoy a meal with Lahore's famed Badshahi Mosque in the background

"Malaysia, truly Asia" and "I feel Slovenia," is not exactly an inducement for people to visit.

It's not as if Pakistan's Tourism Ministry hasn't been trying. The survey I filled out was part of a two-year-long project that will wrap up this year. Pakistan has a great tourism website. And the country decided to make last year "Destination Pakistan 2007." But

there's the rub. Last year was one of the most troubled in Pakistan's history. Terrorist attacks became a weekly—sometimes daily—occurrence. President Pervez Musharraf dismissed the Supreme Court Chief Justice (twice!), triggering massive street protests. Swat Valley, a picturesque tourist spot renowned for its skiing and trout fishing, is now, as my colleague Aryn Baker so vividly described just two months ago, Taliban Central. And to end the year, the leading opposition figure was assassinated.

Even the most beautiful country in the world would struggle to show off its charms with all that going on. The

problems I faced during my trip? "Rioting, looting, burning of shops and tires along roads, shooting, general chaos, mayhem and insecurity—and a very bad stomach ailment," I wrote. I looked up and saw that the survey man, who was waiting patiently for me to finish the forms, was no longer smiling.

The next question read, "Would you please like to give suggestions for improving tourist facilities in Pakistan?" "How do you think I should answer this?" I asked the man. "Pakistan has so many troubles, it's not fair to complain about particular tourist facilities." He shook his head and agreed that there had been a lot of unrest. "It's only 10% or 20% of the people," he said. "The rest of us are very welcoming." I nodded in agreement—Pakistanis are indeed warm, hospitable and generous—and lamented that he had a tough job. "It's a struggle," he admitted.

We both looked at the last question again and talked a bit more about what might help. Then, with a smile from my new friend, I wrote. "Democracy and stability." Easy to write, of course. Harder to make real.



Inbox



The Tsar of Stability

SINCE YOU ACKNOWLEDGE THAT Person of the Year Vladimir Putin has distinguished himself by "choosing order before freedom," I wonder why you didn't select President George W. Bush a third time for his choosing safety from terrorism before terrorists' rights [Dec. 31, 2007-Jan. 7, 2008]. No, *TIME* would much rather recognize a virtual dictator for his supposed achievements: violently suppressing dissent, crushing the free press and leading a regime that has been accused of murdering opponents and expropriating private property for the state. On the other hand, *TIME* loves to natter on about how Gitmo prisoners should be granted U.S. constitutional

freedoms, privileges and rights. You have lost all perspective and are (quite literally) incredible.

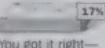
Paul Burich, LOS GATOS, CALIF.

MAILBAG

Biggest mail getter: Person of the Year



You got it wrong—you should have chosen a "good guy," not Vladimir Putin



You got it right—the Russian leader has returned his country to the world stage

YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT PUTIN was informative and insightful. I find him more honest and certainly more intelligent than Bush. Your article mentioned that the people of Russia are willing to give up some of their freedoms for stability. I would make the case that many Americans are also willing to give up freedoms for security.

Eddie Staples, AURORA, COLO.

PUTIN COMES ACROSS AS A LEADER of great character and vision.

In years to come, the Putin era will be a case study of how to use oil riches. Surely

many oil-producing countries in the Middle East can learn valuable lessons about ways to use petrodollars that don't involve supporting terrorist organizations.

Sudarshan Kumar Singh, NAINITAL, INDIA

IN EXPLAINING HOW THE INFLUENCE GAME is played in Putin's Russia, you quoted an insider who referred to "money that the politicians raise quietly from corporate 'sponsors' that expect special treatment in return." Golly, the Russians are becoming as democratic as we are.

Harry Torgerson, GREAT FALLS, MONT.

Maximum-Security Manger

LIKE JAMIL HAMAD, I TOO BEMOAN THE changes that have transformed Bethlehem [Dec. 31, 2007-Jan. 7, 2008]. I do so as a former Israeli soldier who had the honor of guarding the Church of the Nativity when the city was still under Israeli

163
YEARS
STRONG

HERE
FOR
YOU

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

- The credit accompanying the picture of Ron Paul in the Dec. 31, 2007–Jan. 7, 2008 *Inbox* was incorrect. It should have read Geoff Robins—AFP/Getty.
- The Dec. 24 Milestones item on Ike Turner erroneously reported that he played guitar on the album *Rocket 88*. That is the title of a song, not an album, for which Turner played piano, not guitar.

control. But I take issue with a number of subtle insinuations in Hamad's article. He was critical of the security checkpoints, but since the city is no longer under Israeli control, why should the crossing into Israel be different from those between the U.S. and Canada or Mexico, for instance? Hamad also took issue with the Israeli security wall but failed to mention that it was put in place to stop suicide bombers from crossing and snipers from shooting at apartments in the southern part of Jerusalem. When I was stationed in Bethlehem in the mid-1980s, the Christian population was thriving, and tourists arrived by the busload throughout the year, not just at Christmastime. One needs to ask what the difference is between then and now.

Aron B. Safran, WILLOW STREET, PA.

The Legacies of Those We Lost

THANK YOU FOR THE FAREWELL TO THE Scooter, Phil Rizzuto [Dec. 31, 2007–Jan. 7, 2008]. After I read the piece and took in the photo from his days on the field, it was clear to me that Scooter was key to my love of the game of baseball. Although I grew up in New York after his playing days were over, he was with me every game from his broadcast booth. He shared his take on the plays, but even more important, he shared his enthusiasm, which was 100%. His coverage was clearly biased—he loved his Yanks—but boy, did I love it.

Ralph R. Van Houten, LIMA, N.Y.

HOW COULD YOU LEAVE OUT THE FABULOUS, irreverent writer Molly Ivins? She died of breast cancer on Jan. 31, 2007, at age 62, in Austin, Texas. She was a co-editor of the *Texas Observer*; worked for the New York

Times, Dallas Times Herald and Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*; and later became a syndicated columnist. She wrote for TIME and authored numerous books. In her writing, Ivins stood up against the lies of the powerful. She devoted her life to questioning authority. She minced no words, and her loyal readers can't find the words to say how sorely they miss her.

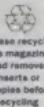
Margret Hofmann, AUSTIN, TEXAS

R.B. as J.C.?

MY DEC. 31, 2007–JAN. 7, 2008 ISSUE ARRIVED just in time for Christmas. While I admire your Questions subject Richard Branson, I think you overdid it with the picture. He looked like a Western vision of Christ: long, flowing hair; beard; eyes raised to heaven. All he lacked was a crown of thorns.

Gerald White, PORT ORCHARD, WASH.

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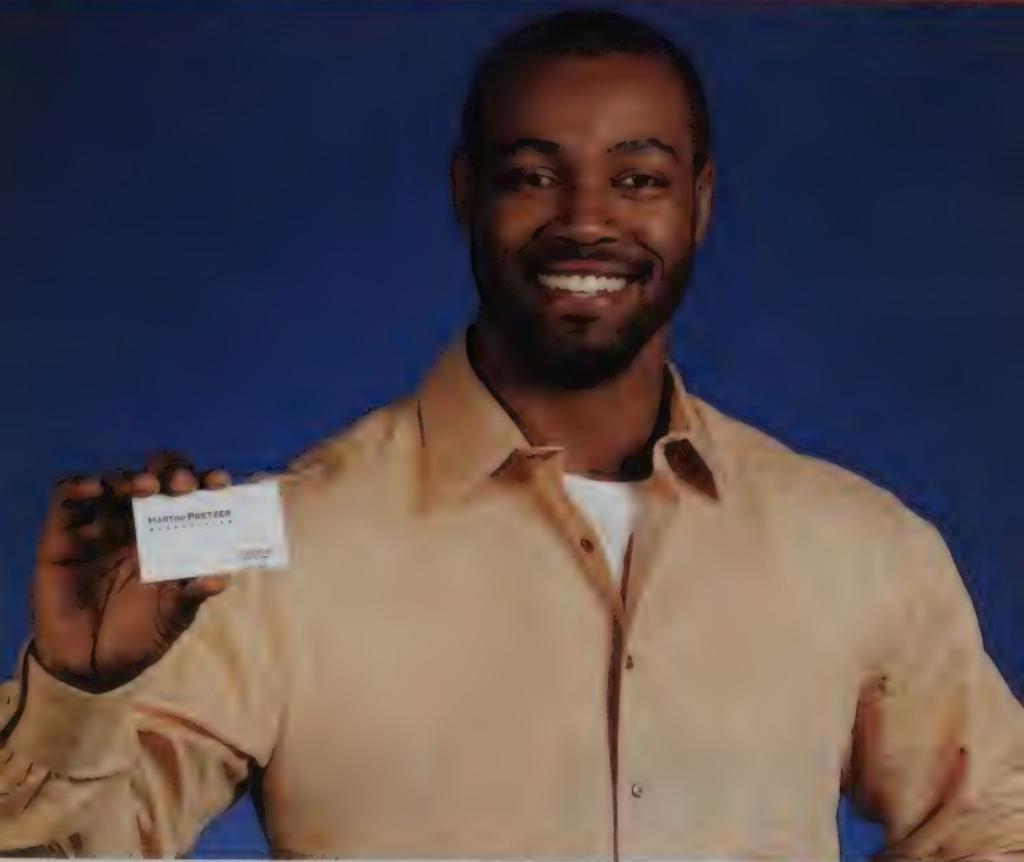
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A screenshot of the TurboTax software interface. At the top, there's a navigation bar with tabs like "TurboTax", "Products", "Support", etc. Below that is a search bar with the placeholder "Search". A large red button on the left says "Get Started". To the right, there's a section titled "What's New for You for 2007?" with several items listed in columns. One item has a circular icon with a lock and a checkmark, labeled "My Job I changed jobs I retired in 2006". Other items include "My Home", "My Business", "My Family", and "My Taxes". Each item has a checkbox next to it.



To find out just how easy it is, visit us at **TurboTax.com**

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Clemens in a Jam. Implicated in doping by an old friend, a fastballer fires back

THERE'S NO CRYING IN BASEball, just blaming, complaining and, if the accused is a dominating star like Roger Clemens, outraged denying.

In December the Mitchell Report on steroid abuse in the major leagues fingered the top players of the past two decades—slugger Barry Bonds and pitcher Roger Clemens—as having taken illegal substances. Bonds has dwelled mostly in sullen silence through the years of his charges. But Clemens, whose inclusion in the report was a jolt to fans, has taken

the offensive, proclaiming his innocence against allegations by his former personal trainer Brian McNamee that he had injected the star multiple times with a banned steroid.

Like virtually all other players, Clemens refused to be interviewed by the Mitchell team. Now, though, he can't stop talking: on his website, to Mike Wallace on *60 Minutes* and in a press conference that Clemens called, then stormed out of. All these were warm-up pitches for the Rocket's next big game, in front of a congressional committee on

Feb. 13. McNamee has also been called to testify.

In his blog and with Wallace, Clemens was righteous and restrained. It was a fine performance—for a control pitcher like Greg Maddux. But Clemens' forte was always power: throwing a 95-m.p.h. fastball that could depilate a

batter's eyebrows. That was the Clemens on display at his Jan. 7 press conference. Staring down reporters with the same intensity he lasered at Mike Piazza in 2000 (just before he beaned him), Clem-

ens played the tape of a recent 17-min. phone call he'd had with McNamee. For revelations, this was no Watergate tape; neither side admitted to lying. The conversation had the edgy, intimate tone of an estranged couple's last chat before the lawyers take over.

Will McNamee rat out his old pal under oath before Congress, or will he turn strangely evasive, like Frankie Pentangeli in *The Godfather: Part II*? Will Clemens fess up or prove that he was clean? For all the testimony and counter-testimony, the truth may never be known. The chemicals at issue, if he took them, would have passed from his body years ago. Unfortunately for Clemens, suspicion has a much longer half-life.

—BY RICHARD CORLISS



FERNLEY, NEV.

Rupture of canal levee leaves thousands stranded



PORTLAND, ORE.

1971 D.B. Cooper hijack case reopened



NEW ORLEANS

Louisiana State University wins football championship

Washington Memo Hormuz Hardball

THE PENTAGON VIDEO SHOWED IT CLEARLY: Iranian speedboats buzzing dangerously close to three U.S. warships in the Strait of Hormuz, the narrow waterway at the base of the Persian Gulf, on Jan. 6. A foreign voice called over the radio, "You will explode in a few minutes"—chilling words for those who remembered the small-boat attack on the U.S.S. *Cole* that killed 17 in 2000. Then, before the warships could fire, the boats turned away.

Tehran called it a routine encounter, even saying the audio was faked. But the White House wasn't ready to let it pass. Besides the Pentagon's release of the footage, the White House called the run-in "reckless." It was a "dangerous situation," said President George W. Bush. "They should not have done it, pure and simple."

Why the high-profile pushback? Diplomatic necessity. Bush was to embark on Jan. 8 for an eight-day Middle East trip, in part to persuade his Gulf allies to unite against Iran. Their leaders (all Sunnis) are wary of (Shi'ite) Iran's growing power but have been reluctant to side with U.S. calls for a new U.N. resolution. Last year's U.S. intelligence report, which downplayed the Iranian nuclear threat, did little to help U.S. credibility on the issue. So even a brief act of aggression by Iran became welcome evidence for the U.S. case. Skeptics say Washington sees in the encounter as much a p.r. opportunity as a bona fide threat. "The fact that it comes a couple of days before the President sets off on his trip raises questions," says Professor Gary Sick, an Iran expert at Columbia University.

It will take more than this incident to solidify an anti-Iran coalition, however. Reem al Hashimy, deputy at the embassy of the United Arab Emirates in Washington, says her country will go along with U.N. efforts to constrain Iran but won't "stick its head out" any further. — BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

EXPLAINER

Recycling E-Waste

States around the country have been holding New Year's collection drives for electronic waste. Most states, however, don't require the recycling of old devices. About 70% of computers and monitors end up in landfills. Here's what it takes to break down our gadgets.

Source: eWaste-Counter, Inc.



COLLECTION

Recyclers hold residential roundups and collection events as well as go to businesses to gather old devices.



DISASSEMBLY

E-waste is placed on a disassembly line, where it is taken apart. Hard drives are drilled through to destroy data.

TENNIS NOTE

Not All Rackets Welcome



ON THE BALL Pro tennis has been hit hard by recent allegations of illegal gambling and players' statements about being asked to throw matches. So Tennis Australia is fighting back with a series of unprecedented anticorruption measures instituted ahead of the Australian Open, which runs Jan. 14-27.

THE NET RESULT Precautions include a hotline to report alleged corruption, a ban on unauthorized court-side laptops, and restricted access to players. A police task force—Operation Onset—will handle allegations of match-fixing and illegal betting activities. Justice, apparently, will be served.

LEXICON

video snacking

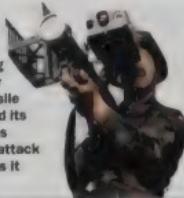
DEFINITION \vid-e-o snak-ing\ v: The practice of watching snippets of video on a computer or other small screen, such as a cell phone or PDA.

CONTEXT Turns out that video snacking happens a lot during the office lunch hour. Web content providers have long known that usage spikes at midday during the workweek and are creat-

NATIONAL SECURITY

Protecting Planes

The U.S. will soon begin testing technology to shield passenger airliners from shoulder-fired missile attacks. Israeli airline El Al fitted its fleet with antimissile capabilities after a jet narrowly escaped an attack in Kenya in 2002. Will it work? Is it worth it? A look:



The Threat

An estimated 1 million missile launchers have been manufactured since the 1950s. The weapons can be bought, in some cases, for as little as \$500 and over 30 years have struck 40 civilian aircraft.



RAWALPINDI, PAKISTAN
Scotland Yard assists in Bhutto investigation



CONGUILLO NATIONAL PARK, CHILE
Llaima volcano erupts; none injured



NIANGUA, MO.
January tornadoes roar across Midwestern states



③ SORTING

Pieces are sorted into different types of plastics, woods and metals and sent to recycling processors.

④ POISONS

Leaded and unleaded glass are separated with a special machine. Both types of glass can be recycled.

⑤ PRECIOUS METALS

Metals like gold, which are highly efficient electrical conductors, are sent to a smelter to be recycled and reused.

HEALTH NOTE

Surveying Health in Iraq

DOOR-TO-DOOR DATA Because of the lack of reliable death and hospital records in Iraq, researchers resorted to individually surveying 9,345 households across the war-torn nation to come up with a snapshot of health that will help make new policy and restore social services.

GRIM RESULTS Among the World Health Organization's findings: an estimated 151,000 Iraqis died from violence between March 2003 and June 2006. Only 57% of Iraqi women said they had heard of AIDS. About 21% of Iraqi women said they experience physical domestic violence. And about 36% of respondents received a mental-health score indicating "significant psychological distress."

ing content specifically for that window. Sites like ComedyCentral.com are competing with YouTube by splitting shows into short segments; others, like Politicalunch.com, are creating short midday webcasts.

USAGE Ads accompanying lunchtime video snacks get more views as well, which means they now command a premium price.



The Test

Three American Airlines Boeing 767s will be fitted with lasers designed to jam and deflect missiles. Not that missiles will be fired: the experiments will explore the equipment's durability and its effect on fuel use.

The Opponents

The airline industry frowns on mandating the technology, claiming the strategy is unproven and expensive. Even American Airlines, a participant in the tests, is "philosophically opposed."

The Cost

Retrofitting a single plane with the laser technology could cost up to \$1 million (there are 6,800 U.S. jets), plus added fuel costs. Still undecided: whether the Federal Government or the airlines would foot the bill.

World Spotlight Trashing Naples

NAPLES WOULD RATHER BE FAMOUS FOR WOOD-baked pizza. But its real specialty these days is spectacular trash crises. The latest emergency, like those before it, stems from government mismanagement and the Camorra, Naples' Mob, which has infiltrated much of the garbage industry. Refuse went uncanceled for three weeks, leading to school closures, violent street protests and finally deployment of the Italian army to collect the trash. A look at what's causing the stench:



THE DIRTY MOB

The Camorra profits whether trash is collected or not. Area dumps have been full since 1994, triggering an ongoing state of emergency. But about half of the annual emergency funds, some 700 million euros, may end up in Mob hands.

THE STINK OF BAD GOVERNMENT

The perpetual instability of the Italian political system has led to a heap of broken promises. A new special commissioner has been named, but his mandate is a laughably short four months.

A REGION LEFT TO ROT

Italy is divided between the rich north and the poor south, plagued by unemployment and organized crime. The trash is just one symptom of a federal neglect that needs fixing. — BY JEFF ISRAELY



Verbatim

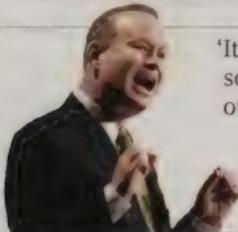
'Nobody is going to be allowed to do anything here.'

WAHEED ARSHAD. Pakistani Major General, denying reports that the U.S. may expand military and CIA authority to pursue Islamic militants in Pakistan



'If you are a believer in miracles, this would be one.'

PHILIP S. BARIE. chief of the division of critical care at New York-Presbyterian Hospital, on the recuperation of Alcides Moreno, a 37-year-old window washer who fell 47 stories last month



'If Jesus came back today, I think he'd throw up.'

JESSE VENTURA. former Minnesota Governor and retired professional wrestler, railing against politics and organized religion in his new book, *Don't Start the Revolution Without Me!*



'These animals are not some kind of freaks of nature.'

JAMES HODGES. president of the American Meat Institute Foundation, on cloned livestock, whose meat and milk the FDA is expected to declare safe for consumption



'This is the first red carpet that I've really walked down where I didn't have to think about holding in my stomach.'

HALLE BERRY. on being pregnant, while accepting the Desert Palm Achievement Award at the Palm Springs International Film Festival on Jan. 5

NUMBERS

HEALTH INSURANCE \$12,106

Health-insurance premium for the average family in 2006. The total spent on health care topped \$2 trillion for the first time ever

23%

Percentage of respondents to an eHealthInsurance survey who said they were sure they understood the meaning of key terms like HMO, PPO and HSA used in their health-insurance policies

ASSIMILATION

88%

Percentage of second-generation Latinos fluent in English; 23% of first-generation Latinos say they can converse very well in English

56%

Percentage of second-generation Latinos who say they speak Spanish very well

HEALTH

65%

Percentage of American adults who are dieting, exercising or doing both during any nonholiday period



29

Number of pounds that at least 25% of American adults currently on a diet would like to lose. Regular exercisers said they want to drop an average of 14 lbs.

WEALTH

\$46,380

The U.K.'s gross domestic product this year, \$500 more than in the U.S. For the first time since the 19th century, the average Brit will earn more than his or her U.S. counterpart

1993

Year the U.K.'s GDP per capita lagged 34% behind the U.S. average, in the wake of Britain's last major recession

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SOURCES: AP/NY Times; AP/2; Wall Street Journal; PBO/PBS



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People

Q & A

Talking with Chris Daughtry

He didn't win *American Idol*, but Chris Daughtry and his eponymous band found huge success as the top-selling artists of 2007.

When you started the band, did you ever think you would be the top-selling artist of an entire year? Not at all. It wasn't a goal, really, because it didn't seem like something that was attainable. Some goals you just never really think about trying to achieve because they just seem so out of reach.

You're touring with Bon Jovi this year. Is that a group you've looked up to as a rocker? That's one of the bands that everybody wants to tour with, and I think one of the biggest things about them is that they're still in the game. It's one of those bands that you want to be associated with, because you want to model your career after them.

You're often compared to Nickelback. How do you feel about that? I say, Cool. They're obviously doing well. I've been writing for 11 years, and if that means I'm already writing songs as good as [Nickelback lead singer] Chad Kroeger, I'm pretty stoked. It seems everything that guy writes turns into a big hit.

Why did you name the band after yourself? Because I'm conceited. [Laughs.] Just kidding. It was more about name recognition than anything else.



Change of plans

After pulling out of her lead role in the drama *The Reader*, Nicole Kidman announced that she and husband Keith Urban are expecting. Kate Winslet will replace the Oscar-winner Kidman, who has two adopted children.

CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

In treatment. Former Olympic figure skater DOROTHY HAMILL, for breast cancer

Record broken. By DANE COOK, who told jokes at the Laugh Factory comedy club in L.A. for 7 hours, beating Dave Chappelle's feat of 8 hr. 12 min.

Dropped. 2006 *American Idol* winner TAYLOR HICKS, from J Records. Just weeks after the label released Ruben Studdard, *Idol*'s second-season winner

Sued. JESSICA SEINFELD, by Missy Chase Lapine, who claims Seinfeld plagiarized her cookbook

Wedding plans rumored. For French President NICOLAS SARKOZY, who recently divorced, and former model Carla Bruni



Dr. Phil intervenes

Dr. Phil has received criticism for intruding on BRITNEY SPEARS after her latest breakdown. Mental-health professionals have said the talk-show host went too far by visiting Spears in the hospital. He did, however, cancel filming of a show that would have focused on Spears' troubles.

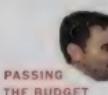
PROTEST BEARDS

Letterman and Conan grew beards to support striking writers. Other notable beard-as-protest causes:



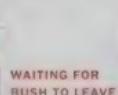
CATCHING OSAMA

After the events of Sept. 11, distraught science teacher GARY WEDDLE vowed to grow his whiskers until Osama bin Laden is captured or killed.



PASSING THE BUDGET

New Jersey assembly aide DEREK ROSEMAN refused to shave until Governor Jon Corzine signed the budget into law in 2006. He had to wait only a week.



WAITING FOR BUSH TO LEAVE

PHILIP BRUCE MINK, a mayoral candidate in Ohio in '07, said he started growing a beard when President Bush took office and will shave when he leaves.

Blast from the past

The series *GEORGE OF THE JUNGLE* returns to TV screens on Jan. 18 in Flash animation 41 years after it became a Saturday-morning hit.

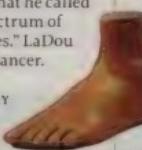


Milestones

QED THERE WAS A TIME when a pizza pie was simple: red (marinara), white (mozzarella) and round. As the first pizza chef at Wolfgang Puck's '80s hot spot Spago and later the architect of the menu for the national chain California Pizza Kitchen, **Ed LaDou** was pivotal in elevating the dish to gourmet status. A cult figure to celebrities—who flocked to the Los Angeles Spago for his latest creations—LaDou topped his pies with such unconventional ingredients as duck sausage, smoked salmon, hoisin sauce and barbecue chicken, his signature. The culinary mission? To expose diners to what he called the "infinite spectrum of pizza possibilities." LaDou was 52 and had cancer.

■ HE WAS THE SPY who really didn't love his bosses. **Philip Agee**

Agee worked for the CIA from 1957 to 1969, mostly in Latin America, and grew to loathe what he called the U.S.'s mistreatment of leftists there. His 1975 best-selling book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, critiqued U.S. policy and named purported CIA operatives, enraging U.S. officials and in-



spiring the U.S. law criminalizing the exposure of covert agents (which later figured in the Valerie Plame case). After living in Germany for years, Agee, whose U.S. passport was revoked in 1979, moved to Havana to start a travel website that encourages U.S. tourism in Cuba. He was 72 and died after ulcer surgery.

■ IN 1968, WHILE TREATING impoverished rural amputees in Jaipur, India, orthopedic surgeon **P.K. Sethi** and local craftsman Ram Chandra devised something revolutionary: an affordable prosthetic foot made of flexible materials that offered mobility for villagers accustomed to walking barefoot and sitting on the floor. First used broadly for landmine victims in Afghanistan after the 1979 Soviet invasion, the \$30 Jaipur foot has aided millions of patients in more than 25 developing or war-torn countries. Sethi was 80.

■ THE REPUBLICAN EX-NAVAL officer known for his tax cuts could easily have become a cookie-cutter partisan. Former Wisconsin Governor **Lee Sherman Dreyfus** just



LaDou

didn't think that way. So in 1982 the charismatic onetime college chancellor signed the nation's first gay-rights law prohibiting discrimination in housing, employment and public accommodations. The matter-of-fact Governor insisted that not intruding on private lives was a distinctly Republican virtue. "There is nothing more private or intimate than who you live with and who you love," he said. Dreyfus was 81.

■ BEFORE ACCEPTING THE Nobel Peace Prize last month in Oslo, Al Gore called **Bert Bolin**, in part to thank the trailblazing climatologist for starting the process. In 1959, Bolin told federal scientists that carbon dioxide in the atmosphere would rise 25% from 1850 to 2000. Thirty years later, as the first chairman of the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change—which shared the 2007 Nobel with Gore—Bolin oversaw reports that led to such landmark agreements as the Kyoto Protocol, which called on industrialized nations to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions to 5% below 1990 levels by 2012. He was 82.

■ THE 1950S WAS NOT THE most welcoming era for racy performers. So when singer-songwriter **Ruth Wallis** belted out risqué novelty tunes like *The Dinghy Song*—about Davy, who had the "cutest little dinghy in the Navy"—in

elite cabaret clubs, the media refused to cover her, deeming her lyrics and titles too scandalous. Audiences loved them, however, and the "Queen of the Party Song" became a sensation on stages across the country. Among other favorites: *Stay Out of My Pantry* and *Boobs*, the title of a Wallis-inspired 2003 off-Broadway revue. She was 87.

■ PATSY CLINE AND TAMMY Wynette were fine, thank you, but for Country Music Hall of Fame producer **Ken Nelson**, the orchestral, slickly produced Nashville sound of the '50s needed an



update. As the understated, hands-off country guru at Capitol Records for 20 years, the California-based Nelson defined the raw, twangy style that became known as the Bakersfield sound, first with the 1952 Hank Thompson hit *The Wild Side of Life* and later by discovering Merle Haggard (above, at left) and Buck Owens. He was 96.



By Harriet Baskett, Gilbert F. Rue, Andria Ford, Elizabeth Salomone, Carolyn Sayce, Tiffany Sharples, Alexandra Siliver, Kate Stinchfield and Jim Tweeter

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A photograph of a man sitting alone in a modern airport terminal. He is seated in a row of dark wooden chairs, facing a large window that looks out onto a runway. An airplane is captured in mid-flight, just after takeoff, against a bright sky. Two large, well-manicured round trees stand in front of the windows, their reflections visible on the polished floor. The overall atmosphere is quiet and contemplative.



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Joe

Klein

How Hillary Learned to Trust Herself. Shedding her private dismay that she's not the most charismatic candidate, Clinton allowed her humor—and anger—to peek through

IN THE SPRING OF 1995, I WAS PART OF a small press pack that accompanied a wounded Hillary Clinton on her first major international trip as First Lady, to south Asia. She was extremely wary of us at first, but that didn't last very long, as the exotic sights and sounds overwhelmed us all. It was, I suspect, a turning point in Clinton's life. Back home, she had faced dangerous, vitriol-spewing crowds at the end of the health-care battle, but each time she stepped off the big plane with the grand words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA emblazoned on its side, the crowds were huge and adoring. And as she went from place to place, visiting local programs that helped women overcome the vicious prejudices visited upon them by male-dominated cultures, a metamorphosis took place: gradually, she seemed to put the health-care debacle behind her and realize there was other work to be done, if not as co-President, then as First Lady. There were all these women who needed a public voice. One day in Ahmedabad, India, she visited a remarkable economic program for untouchable women who were rag pickers. They sang *We Shall Overcome* for her in Gujarati, and tears filled her eyes. All us cynics in the press corps went weepy too.

As the trip went on, a funny thing happened. She started to open up to the press. Off the record, of course. She would come back to the press section of the plane, dressed in a sweatshirt, wearing her Coke-bottle eyeglasses, and schmooze. I have a picture of the two of

us, heads thrown back, laughing at some long-forgotten joke as we headed home.

All of which came to mind as Clinton experienced a similar metamorphosis in New Hampshire last week—an unclenching that took place under far more difficult circumstances, with the whole world watching her every move. It was a rocky path with an unexpected ending. She made mistakes, said a few things in the heat of battle that she probably regrets. But she also allowed herself some tentative moments of spontaneity—not just her now famous near tears in Portsmouth, but moments of humor and anger and grace as well.

My favorite came in a confrontation with the television talk-show host Chris Matthews during a press conference—a press conference!—in Nashua. Matthews was pushing her on Iraq. How was she different from Barack Obama? Back and forth it went, Clinton parrying every thrust easily. Finally, Matthews capitulated. "Please, come on the show," he said. Clinton chuckled and said sarcastically, "Well, right!" Then she joked, "I don't know what to do with men who are obsessed with me." And then she went over, gave him a hug, patted his cheek and said, "Christopher ... baby..." Matthews seemed to melt. He asked her how she was doing. "I'm good!" she replied brightly.

But she wasn't good. She was shell-shocked, reeling from her loss in Iowa and polls that showed her cratering in New Hampshire. The search for some way to counter Obama's easy brilliance, her search for a true public voice, was proving much harder than her discovery of a new mission back in India in 1995. And then it happened, in the oddest possible way. It happened at a listless rally on Monday afternoon in the town of Dover, where her husband had resurrected his cratering campaign in 1992 by declaring, "I'll be there for you until the last dog dies."

With the last dog on life support,



Senator Clinton was introduced by a woman named Francine Torge, who said something startling and dreadful: "Some people compare one of the other candidates to John F. Kennedy. But he was assassinated, and Lyndon Baines Johnson was the one who actually [completed Kennedy's work]." That clearly remained in Clinton's mind, because a few hours later, she was tastelessly comparing Obama to Martin Luther King Jr. in an interview with Fox News. King's dream "became a reality," she said, "because we had a President who said we are going to do it and actually got it accomplished."

We in the press were wildly stupid in the days before the New Hampshire primary, citing Clinton meltdowns that never really happened

She found her voice Clinton leaves a Jan. 6 campaign event at a Nashua, N.H., high school. Obama may be inspirational, but Clinton is now inspired



The specter of Lyndon Johnson, Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and all the other dull, disastrous, detail-oriented Democratic politicians of the recent past had haunted her campaign from the start. Earlier that day she had even attacked Obama using Mondale's famous line about Gary Hart, "Where's the beef?" But now she seemed to be shedding her private dismay that she could never be a charismatic politician like Obama or Kennedy, or her husband, and embracing her inner Johnson—at least the can-do policy wonk version of that notoriously strange President. But she would be John

son with a twist, with passion and with a specific constituency in mind: all those women who had to juggle jobs, children, careless, selfish men, and menopause—and, all too often, divorce. The working women of America, like the woman who had asked the simple, touching question in Portsmouth that had started her tears flowing: "How do you do it? Who does your hair?"

Those women responded by coming out for her in droves in New Hampshire. They represent a very moving counter force to the legions of young people Obama has activated across the country.

Both Clinton and Obama have a solid base now—and both have a similar problem: trying to reach past that base, especially to the working-class (white) men who may well decide the general election in states like Ohio. Clinton's "beef" may prove the more sturdy product in a party that thinks, as labor leader Andrew Stern once said, that electing a President is *College Bowl*, but it's really *American Idol*. Obama may be inspirational, but Clinton is now inspired. "I listened to you," she said at the beginning of her spare, elegant acceptance speech. "And in the process, I found my own voice."

If she is smart—smarter about herself than she has been in the past—she will continue to run her campaign in the open, as she did the last few days in New Hampshire, answering questions from the press and public, allowing her humor (and a bit of anger) to shine. She will, finally, trust her own instincts and stop relying so much on polls and market testing. A big election like this one is won on macrovision, not the microtrends that her strategist Mark Penn keeps touting. And in facing an idealistic opponent, she will remember that she, not her husband, was the one who came up with the famous line "I still believe in a place called Hope."

But we in the press have to be smarter too. We were wildly stupid in the days before the New Hampshire primary, citing Clinton meltdown after Clinton meltdown—the tears, the flash of anger in the debate—that never really happened. We really need to calm down, become more spin-resistant, even if our sleep-deprived sources tend to overreact to every slip and poll dip in the campaign. If we are lucky, this will be a long and complicated race—which is exactly what this country deserves right now—and we need to watch it with our very best, most patient eyes, just as the public seems to be doing.

Hillary's moment Clinton celebrating with supporters and her family in Manchester, N.H. Her ground forces knocked on 105,000 doors the day before the primary

Photograph for TIME by Anthony Suau

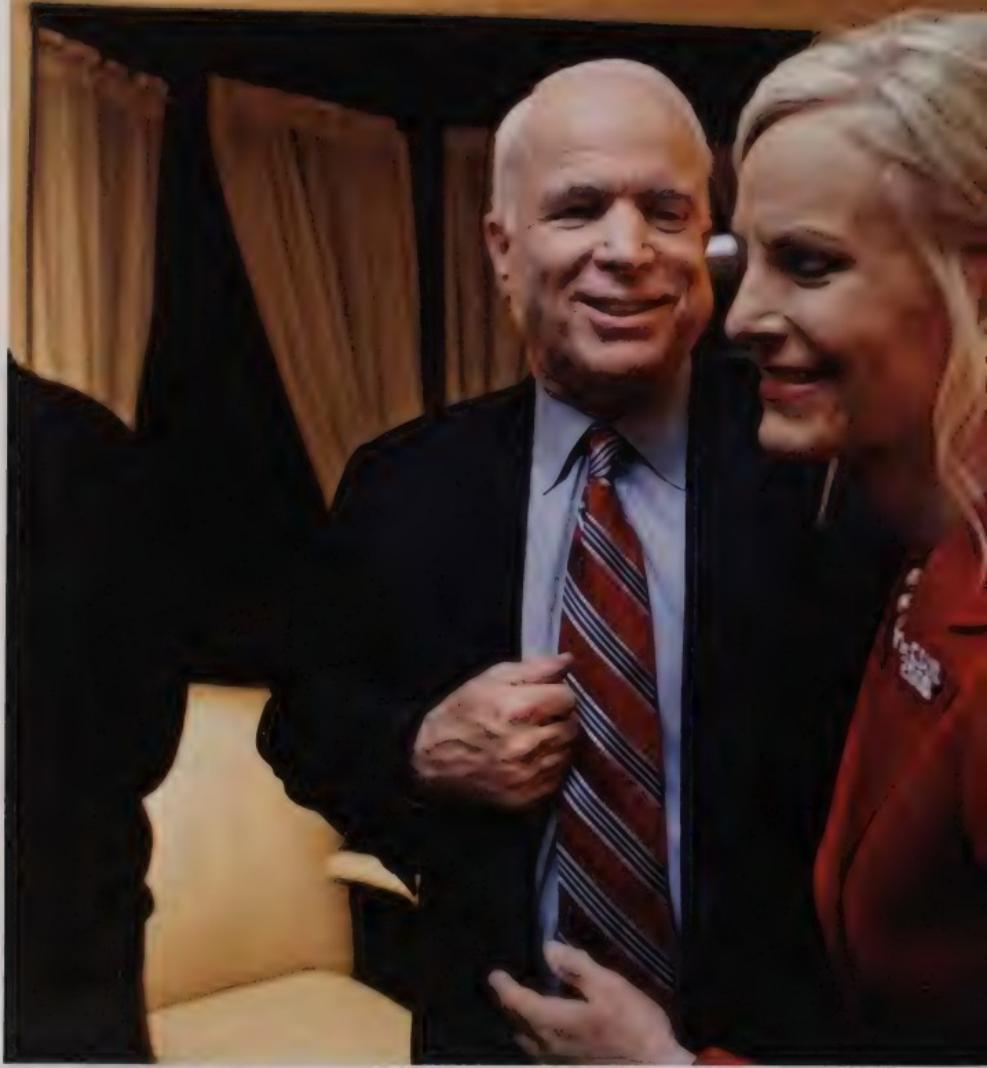




Game On!

Left for dead by the experts, Hillary Clinton and John McCain ride a record turnout to victory in New Hampshire. Here's what's next in a campaign whose only certainty is uncertainty

BY NANCY GIBBS AND DAVID VON DREHLE



Savoring a victory McCain and his wife Cindy Hensley McCain at a Nashua, N.H., hotel. South Carolina will test the Senator's momentum
Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris



FIRST CAME THE FRESH WINDS across the prairie, Mike Huckabee and Barack Obama rising fast and blowing away row upon row of tidy assumptions and dead certainties. As that front moved east, the weather changed; spring, the season of rebirth, came to New Hampshire. Snowbanks softened, toppling the yard signs; the ice Queen melted. By nightfall, John McCain and Hillary Clinton, two veterans once left for dead, had sprung back to life.

In a race that turns out to be all about climate change, just about every forecaster was wrong—which in a way was the best part. People made their own weather, refusing to stay inside, ignoring the old rules, the hot air, the floods of cash. Voters in both contests turned out in record numbers to throw off the polling models, and the fact that no one knows what happens now is itself a cause to celebrate. Maybe the other 99% of citizens will get a chance to play their part too in the already merrily historic campaign of 2008. Political professionals, consultants, lobbyists, reporters and pundits leafed madly through the unread pages of this election saga, but the voters took the book away and closed it. No jumping ahead. The story won't be foretold. It will unfold.

I. The Democrats

ON TUESDAY NIGHT, AS THE RESULTS STARTED tight and stayed that way, Obama ate dinner at his Nashua hotel with his wife Michelle and his Kenyan sister Auma—no kids, no aides. As the night got longer, his would-be victory rally was tomblike. You could hear change drop. Nothing that had happened in the previous 96 hours had prepared either side for what had taken place across New Hampshire since the polls opened at dawn.

Just as the voters of Iowa hadn't wanted to be told that Clinton was the inevitable nominee, Democrats in New Hampshire weren't much in the mood to be told

weren't much in the mood to be told that her candidacy was toast, that their votes were futile. In the final hours, the undecideds, who often end up too torn among candidates or too busy to bother voting, made their way to the polls and carried Clinton to victory. Obama got 37%, just as the polls projected. But the mantra of change that had turned seasoned journalists into giddy ballerinas in the days after Iowa did not win over the supporters of recently departed candidates Joe Biden and Chris Dodd, most of whom cast their ballots for Clinton. She got 40% instead of 30%, and Obama's lead disappeared, her fortunes revived, and both sides now have to plan for a campaign whose only certainty is uncertainty.

People close to Clinton, including one who spent the day in her hotel suite as she and her team worked on her speech, didn't think she saw it coming. But Clinton says otherwise. She went out early that morning to polling places. "I looked at voters, and they looked at me," she said. "I shook their hands, and we saw people just randomly. I stopped at a Dunkin' Donuts and just began to ask people to go out and vote. I began to sense that we were going to do well." She didn't say anything when she got back to the hotel; the first exit polls still had her about 9 points down. "I thought, You know, either I have totally lost my touch for figuring out what voters are thinking and doing, or this is going to be a lot better than anybody thinks."

The projected Obama blowout had the commentariat writing Clinton political obits and big donors so depressed, they were lined up to jump off that bridge to the 21st century. Her events felt flat and forced; the sound system wouldn't work well; the mike screeched back at her. Clinton's crowds each day, impressive by normal standards, could not rival Obama's immense events, so staffers were reduced to moving risers and limiting entry to create the appearance of overflow. Conservative fund raisers, meanwhile, were pondering in e-mails to one another whether to cut Clinton's name from their direct-mail appeals and paste in Obama's. A GOP operative, after watching both party debates on Saturday night, declared, "Well, it's over now. She doesn't have a chance, and neither do we."

But that was just one more example of people who knew too much not seeing what was right in front of them: that voters might actually want to have a say in a primary system that has been engineered and re-engineered entirely around the interests of special interests. It was far too early for the whole process to be over, not with so many questions still to answer.



Before the Clinton comeback

Obama kicks back on his campaign bus on the way to Rochester, N.H. The night of the primary, his would-be victory rally was tomblike

Photograph for TIME by Callie Shell



Fight or Unite?

WHEN OBAMA TALKS ABOUT CHANGE, what he doesn't say is that Democrats have been arguing among themselves for years about how to achieve it in a pitiless political culture—war or diplomacy, fight or unite? When he talks healing, his crowds go wild; when Clinton talks about fighting, hers do. Her advantage is that the party has its own military-industrial complex: the union bosses and activists and local pols who are well practiced at the art of war and have the scars to show for attempts at compromise. In lining up behind Clinton, they were placing their bets on the likeliest winner, the brand name with the long memory, and the candidate most likely to give their conservative foes apoplectic fits.

New Hampshire was especially Clinton country, full of veterans of battles at her side going back to the day 16 years ago when together they helped breathe life into Bill Clinton's presidential ambitions. All weary and wise, all steeped in the hard work of small steps, they had no time for the airy (they said empty) hope Obama was peddling; it was as if it diminished everything they'd fought for so long, the way he made it sound easy, as though if only we were more polite to one another, all our problems would just sort themselves out.

It's an awfully handy thing for a candidate running on a promise to change the system to show he could actually do it. That, after all, is what Iowa caucuses are for—little sealed rooms with lots of mea-

Never have so many Republicans been so pleased by Hillary Clinton's success. 'Sweet baby Jesus, they saved our bacon,' a former Reagan aide exulted

suring instruments in them so you can see if your hypotheses hold true. By any standard measure, Clinton's calculations worked: she built the organization, spent the money, put up huge numbers in Iowa. In any other year, it would have been more than enough to win. And Obama, he was supposed to be all style and no substance, the Howard Dean of 2008, whose base was a bunch of college kids who showed up to his rallies but wouldn't make it to the perpetually confusing caucuses.

But a funny thing happened on caucus day. Those college and even high school



TIME Interview

'I Could Sense the Change Coming'



To read more of Karen Tumulty's interview with Hillary Clinton, visit time.com/hillary

SENATOR HILLARY CLINTON defied the polls to best Barack Obama in New Hampshire. She spoke to TIME's Karen Tumulty on Jan. 9. Excerpts:

A lot of people thought that yesterday was not necessarily going to be a great night for you. When did you figure out that you had things going your way?
Well, I felt that way after the [Jan. 5] debate. I had nothing to prove it, but I could sense the change coming. Then we actually went out to polling places, and I looked at voters and they looked at me, I shook their hands, and we saw people just randomly. I stopped at a Dunkin' Donuts and just began to ask people to go out and vote. I really felt good. I got back to my hotel room in the afternoon, and I didn't say, "I think we're going to do really well," but I felt it.

Your performance in the debate got a lot of media attention. It seems as if the voters saw it a lot differently than the pundits did.

It just has been my experience, going back many, many years, that voters hear things and see things differently. As soon as the debate was over and I was walking off the stage, one of the cameramen grabbed my hand and said, "That was great." And then from that

moment on, everywhere I went, people were telling me they really got what I was doing and they were glad I wasn't the only one that was on the hot spot for a change.

Do you look at the race differently now, and is this causing you to reassess how you pace it, how you fund it, how you plan the map?

Not really. I always assumed that it would go at least through February 5th. That's what we have been planning for. It is just too compressed a schedule to believe that it was going to be a smooth path ... so I think we're just going to keep going back and forth, and I think voters are going to be looking at both of us and trying to make up their minds, and I welcome that.

So much has been made of how you choked up in Portsmouth. What difference did it make to voters?

I think what it might have done is to put into the public arena what happens to me every single day on a private level. I have those encounters with people that touch me and really move me all the time ... I think what that moment really illustrated is, Guess what? Those of us who get up on the stage and make the speeches and shake the hands and do the interviews are also human beings. ■

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TIME Interview

'My Age Would Be a Factor at Any Time'

THE MORNING AFTER HE WON NEW Hampshire's Republican primary, Senator John McCain spoke to TIME's Ana Marie Cox on his campaign plane en route to Grand Rapids, Mich. Excerpts:

Compared with 2000, when you also won here, how was last night different?

I guess more nostalgic. More, you know, that phrase that [aide Mark Salter] wrote for me—give me a chance to "serve [America] a little while longer." We all know that I would never do this again.

Speaking of that, I'm sure you're tired of people asking you if you're going to serve only one term if you are elected. I've known many, many Presidents and candidates. I've never met one that said, I'm running for an eight-year term. And I'm not running for an eight-year term. Run for a four-year term, and then you evaluate, and then you move on. I understand that my age would be a factor at any time.

Just a few months ago, your campaign was cash-strapped and the least staffed. Was there something good about that?

I think I'm better with a leaner kind of campaign. Less bureaucracy, more quick to react. Close friends. I enjoy that

a lot—to have people who are basically my peers. They're not a group of subordinates who are telling me what they think I want to hear.

What role has the Iraq war played in your candidacy?

I think that with the Republican voters, it has helped. My role in the surge and the success it has achieved helped me make my argument that I have the judgment that none of the others do.

How does your vision for the future of the country differ from both the Democrats' and the other GOP candidates'?

When they say *change*, what are they talking about? I say that change is the kind of change I and others are responsible for in Iraq. That is a big change. The reason why they are for change is because the status quo in Washington is not acceptable to the American people. We all know that from every polling data ... [But] in all due respect to the Democrats, I have yet to hear a specific.

What did you think about Hillary Clinton's victory last night?

I thought she proved again that she and her husband—and I give him credit for campaigning very well for her—that they are still very effective campaigners. I never counted her out.

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Ana Marie Cox's
interview with
John McCain,
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kids showed up at their precincts; there were three times as many young voters at the caucuses as in 2004, and more than half of them caucused for Obama. In a shock to the Clinton campaign, which had counted on turning out high numbers of women voters, Obama captured more female supporters than his rivals. Both Clinton and John Edwards, who edged past her into second place, played the game by its normal rules and played it exceedingly well. But Obama changed the game. Just as he had promised.

On to New Hampshire

SO WHY DID A MESSAGE THAT WORKED SO well in Iowa and looked to resonate in New Hampshire ultimately fall short? In one sense, it didn't. Obama got his bounce out of Iowa, jumped in the polls and inspired people in the surrounding states to get in their cars and drive for hours to see the candidate whom headline writers started calling the Barack Star. Listening to him speak, a former Clinton supporter had goose bumps, saying "I felt I started seeing something in America I haven't seen in a long time."

In fact, Obama's message was working well enough that Clinton had to react to it. "This has been very much a referendum on her," said strategist Mark Penn on the press plane east from Iowa. During private sessions that spread through the weekend, the internal Clinton campaign discussion alternated between how to hit Obama and how to help her. "You're going to see some very sharp media now," an adviser promised. Aides threw out charges one after another in e-mails and in conference calls with reporters—about Obama's vote for the Patriot Act, his relationship with lobbyists, his violation of election rules governing robocalls.

Clinton's strategists realized she was telling voters too much about what she *had* done for them, while Obama was talking about what he *would* do for them. Voters don't like being told, You should support me because you owe me. She began taking more questions, which was a chance to unfurl her plans for everything from student loans to mortgage meltdowns. She even changed the stagecraft. At her concession speech in Iowa, the platform behind Clinton was filled by alumni from the class of '92, including her husband and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. It had become clear that a Clinton restoration wasn't selling and she needed a new visual. Behind the scenes as well, the casting changed. Maggie Williams, who had been First Lady Hillary Clinton's fiercely loyal chief of staff, and Doug Sosnik, who had been a top aide to Bill Clinton, both prepared to return to the fray post-New Hampshire. "Maggie will make her feel more comfortable. Doug



Football and tea? Obama's challenge is to convert massive crowds into reliable votes. Photograph for TIME by Callie Shell

will make him feel more comfortable," said a campaign adviser. "And they've both been through this before."

Clinton's debate performance on Saturday, which the theater critics panned, actually served her well with voters and raised once more whether Democrats are looking for a fighter or a healer. ABC News brought in market researchers who hooked up voters with electrodes to monitor their brain activity. Her flash of anger when the boys ganged up played well with all of them; so did her humor, when she was asked why people don't like her: "Well, that hurts my feelings." But viewers really hated Obama's graceless barb when he told her, "You're likable enough."

Campaign insiders, however, remained pretty sober about her chances. Just about the best they could manage by Monday was to concede that "it is a reasonably long shot, but it is not a fool's errand" for Clinton to continue her campaign past New Hampshire. In a sign of the passing of remote-controlled, big media campaigns, their best hope lay with a ground operation run by a 34-year-old named Nick Clemons, a veteran of former Governor Jeanne Shaheen's operation. "The heart of our ground game was face-to-face contact," he said Wednesday morning, describing a strategy perfected by the Bush-Cheney re-election campaign in 2004. "I know that sounds like old ward-style politics, but it really works." The day before the election, Clemons had an army of 4,000 volunteers knocking on 105,000 New Hampshire doors. Early on, Clinton's team had put together a list of 70,000 of her most likely supporters, slicing and dicing the data by every demographic measure of education level, income and gender to figure out who they were looking for. The answer: "It was women ... We knew we had to go after those women and make sure they voted," said Clemons. Those deemed least likely to make it to the polls got three visits over the final weekend.

Team Clinton even had a worst-case scenario in the event that results out of Iowa weren't all they might hope for. Organizers focused on getting absentee ballots into the hands of seniors, Boston commuters and students on winter break who might not make it to the polls on election day. In the end it was enough to make the difference.

Obama held his own with the labor vote in Iowa; Clinton got it back in New Hampshire, by 10 points. He won among women in Iowa; they swung over to her by a 13-point margin in New Hampshire, along with blue collar workers, a reflection of the

fact that voters' greatest concern in the state was the economy. Round 2 went to Clinton. Now both candidates set their shoulders to head back into the fray. And voters in the other 48 states get ready for their turn.

II. The Republicans

MEANWHILE, MITT ROMNEY'S PLANS TO shortcut the Republican nomination were based on hard cash, not heartstrings. Instead of challenging his party's old notions, he conformed to them as closely as a loaf of bread conforms to its pan. But he learned in these tumultuous five days that democracy is more than weighing wallets and poll-testing positions, no matter what your consultants might tell you.

Whipped in Iowa by Huckabee—a former Baptist minister with a parson's demeanor and a cobra's bite—Romney founded in New Hampshire on a block of granite named McCain. When the Associated Press called the New Hampshire race shortly after the polls closed, McCain's volunteers screamed for joy, but the candidate's mood was more muted. McCain had spent the previous 24 hours superstitiously re-creating the trappings of his smashing New Hampshire win eight years ago—sleeping in the same hotel room, wearing the same emerald green sweater and so on. "I guess more nostalgia, you know," he reflected later. "We all know that I would never do this again."

How had the 71-year-old Arizona Senator managed it this time? His story, too, involved catastrophe and reinvention—and voters responding to a personal message from a candidate and a campaign that wouldn't give in.

He entered the campaign a year ago as the apparent front runner, an awkward role for a free-ranging, fence-jumping, kick-the-corral maverick. McCain never got the hang of it, breaking with his party's mainstream on tax cuts, immigration, harsh interrogation of terrorist suspects—the list goes on. By July his bank account and his poll numbers were in a race to zero, which turned out to be a blessing.

"The people who mishandled his campaign did him an enormous favor. They blew up a campaign that couldn't win," says an unaffiliated Republican strategist. "They destroyed his bases and mangled his supply lines. They left him only the option of falling back on himself and his instincts to fight a guerrilla-style campaign. And that's the only way he can win." Troops decimated, supply lines smoldering, McCain returned to the campaign-

THE EXIT POLLS

How Clinton Won

■ 57% of New Hampshire voters were women, and they went strong for Clinton



■ Obama captured first-time voters, but Clinton was stronger among older voters



■ Clinton also carried Democrats, who outnumbered Independents 54% to 44%



How McCain Won

■ More than one-third of voters were independents, and they flocked to McCain



■ Among voters who care about experience and candor, McCain was the preferred choice

Candidate says what he believes:



Candidate has the right experience:



UPCOMING SCHEDULE

The Democrats

JAN. 19 | NEVADA

Obama is hoping two key union nods will help him regain momentum

JAN. 26 | SOUTH CAROLINA

Clinton's camp briefly considered skipping this contest; now they're in it to win it

FEB. 5 | SUPER TUESDAY

Because Democratic candidates are bypassing primaries in Michigan and Florida, Edwards could stay in the race through this Tuesday when 23 states vote

The Republicans

JAN. 15 | MICHIGAN

McCain won big here in 2000, but Romney is the home-state boy, and Huckabee has evangelical supporters

JAN. 19 | SOUTH CAROLINA

The fight for this nastiest of GOP-campaign states will be a brawl

JAN. 29 | FLORIDA

Gilani's entire campaign depends on one decisive victory in the Sunshine State

FEB. 5 | SUPER TUESDAY

With the possibility that four candidates will arrive having each won a contest, things could just get messier here



Edwards' disappointment The former Senator at a New Hampshire campaign stop. He hopes South Carolina will prove kinder

ing he knows and loves best. "He put this campaign on his back," says Mark Salter, McCain's close aide, co-author and comrade through long hours spent lying in ambush. "He went out there and worked. Obama gets massive rallies, but McCain just wins them one guy at a time."

Returning to the turf where he scalped George W. Bush in 2000, McCain revved up the Straight Talk Express and rode it to more than 100 town-hall meetings. Romney barely knew what hit him. McCain's numbers shot up in the last week before the primary. Says Bernie Streeter, a former mayor of Nashua: "Voters realized that the guy they loved eight years ago was back in the horse race."

'So the race goes on to Florida, and guess who's sitting there like a bug on a stump? Rudy Giuliani.'

—MIT SPEARS, A WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN AND MCCAIN SUPPORTER

"I think principle and persuasion won over money and political messaging," McCain told TIME after his victory.

GOP Soul-Searching

ROMNEY SHOULD HAVE SEEN BOTH LOSSES coming. No matter how little money or press Huckabee received, he was tailored from the get go to appeal to Iowa caucuses. They like down-to-earth, Bible-reading, unflashy dark horses: just ask Jimmy Carter. Huckabee's populism and gift for campaigning made him an irresistible choice for Iowa Republicans, and he brought remarkable numbers of Evangelicals out to vote. And when the crotchety, conservative New Hampshire *Union Leader* joined the elbow-patch-liberal Concord *Monitor* in endorsing McCain, Romney was on notice that his mansion on a New Hampshire lakefront wouldn't be enough to stop the state's real favorite transplant.

The will to prognosticate is the dark addiction of the pundit class. No matter how wrong they got Iowa and New Hampshire, Republicans were soon buzzing over phone lines and trading e-mails about the road ahead. McCain and Huckabee are chasing Romney into Michigan, hoping to land a knockout punch in the

state where Romney's father was once Governor. Four days past that comes South Carolina, where McCain's 2000 bid was rudely demolished. But there, as everywhere, the political landscape is changed in unpredictable ways. The state's solid GOP machine has fragmented into factions only occasionally willing to cooperate. One belongs to Senator Lindsey Graham, a devoted McCain supporter. Another faction, which includes the much feared strategist Warren Tompkins, is in Romney's camp, while the widow and one son of the late mastermind Carroll Campbell have signed on with Huckabee. As a result, the Palmetto State may not play its customary role: cutting the GOP field down to one with ruthless discipline and efficiency.

"So the race goes on to Florida, and guess who's sitting there like a bug on a stump? Rudy Giuliani," said Mit Spears, a Washington Republican in Romney's camp. Florida's Jan. 29 primary will test the former New York City mayor's unconventional strategy of hanging back until the race reaches the megastates, where his celebrity gives him extra leverage.

For now, the momentum has swung to McCain. Campaign insiders found their

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phones ringing merrily on Wednesday morning as donors hustled to hop on the latest bandwagon. "We're ready to schedule as many fund raisers in one week as we've had in the rest of the year put together," said Ryan Ballard, a national co-chair of McCain's money team. "I haven't had enough time to answer all the calls I'm getting—from Romney people, mostly, but even from Giuliani people looking over their shoulders and hedging their bets."

What makes Republican politics into three-dimensional chess is that no candidate seems to measure up to the cherished image of a foursquare Reagan Republican. The party is enduring a dark night of the soul, almost entirely self-inflicted. After the excesses of the recent Republican majority in Congress, the party no longer sees

a fiscal conservative in the mirror, while the Bush Administration's chesty foreign policy and churchy personality have driven wedges between conservatives and neo-conservatives, between Evangelicals and pragmatists. Trying to find a candidate to rally around is like asking a roomful of picky eaters to agree on a pizza.

What's more, signs of a passion gap emerged in Iowa, where the Democratic caucuses drew twice as many voters as Republican ones. Campaign events often had a very different feel—Democrats big and

brassy and confident; Republican gatherings smaller and more dutiful. It was easy to find voters who said they had decided for Edwards or Obama but had great respect for Clinton and thought she'd make a fine President as well. Many Republican voters talked about a lesser of evils.

But the GOP was practically buoyant compared with the gloom that reigned when Obama roared out of Iowa. Having spent years planning for an epic rematch against the Clintons, their favorite arch-villains, Republicans suddenly saw a new

South Carolina

Fight for the Party Faithful

The Baptist-heavy state that derailed McCain in 2000 is swooning over Pastor Huckabee

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

THERE'S A REASON THEY CALL IT the "Firewall." From its inception, the South Carolina Republican primary was meant to douse the flames of political passion. The late GOP strategic wizard Lee Atwater designed the thing to give conservative Southerners a say in the presidential process and offer churchgoers a power line to the White House. Then he scheduled it right after Iowa and New Hampshire, the ideal spot for the party establishment to suppress an insurgent candidate's momentum.

So it was South Carolina that stopped Bob Dole in 1988, handing the nomination to the Establishment candidate, George Bush the father. Then, in 2000, John McCain lost his cool and his lead to a revolt by the party base, which chose another Establishment candidate, George Bush the son.

Now the state looms again as a candidate killer. "Since 1980, the person who won two out of [the first] three states has gone on to get the nomination," McCain often tells reporters on the trail. Even though he leaves New Hampshire on a



Southbound Huckabee's win in Iowa has boosted his chances in South Carolina

victory roll, the voters in South Carolina still view John McCain—long in the tooth and in the Senate—as an insurgent.

McCain's immediate problem in South Carolina is his ally from Iowa and New Hampshire, Mike Huckabee, a former Arkansas Governor and Baptist pastor, has built a double-digit lead in polls of the state's heavily Baptist electorate. For weeks, the two men have praised each other's talents and made common cause against their well funded adversary, Mitt Romney. No more: Romney has diverted resources from South Carolina to Michigan, where he hopes to revive his wounded campaign with a primary win on Jan. 15. "It's not that we don't recognize that we are competing for the same job," Huckabee said of McCain. "But I think we also recognize that it can be done in a civil manner. And we are both committed to that."

But South Carolina is known for ending political allegiances, and it's a long shot that the mutual love will last. Already Huckabee is airing television ads boasting of his tough approach to illegal immigration, McCain's Achilles' heel.

Perhaps the biggest factor separating the two is the sway of evangelical voters, who dominate the Republican base.

'It's not that we don't recognize that we are competing for the same job. But ... we also recognize that it can be done in a civil manner.'

—MIKE HUCKABEE

and looming foe rumbling the ground as he approached. Obama's lack of political baggage and abundance of star power made the all-too-human qualities of the Republican field more apparent.

Never have so many Republicans been so pleased by Hillary Clinton's success. "Sweet baby Jesus, they saved our bacon," a veteran of the Reagan Administration exulted. "We're back in the game." But that relief may well be short-lived. This is going to last for a while, and in 48 states, voters are getting ready to play. —REPORTED BY ANA MARIE COX, MICHAEL SCHERER, JAY NEWTON-SMALL, AMY SULLIVAN AND KAREN TUMULTY/IOWA AND JAMES CARNEY, GILBERT CRUZ, MICHAEL DUFFY AND MARK HALPERIN/NEW HAMPSHIRE ■

David Woodard, who helps run the Clemson University Palmetto Poll, says that over the past 20 years, 60% to 70% of the state's likely Republican primary voters go to church at least once a week. Of that group, about half are Southern Baptist, the faith of Pastor Huckabee.

McCain is still recovering from the July implosion of his campaign, which resulted in pink slips for most of his South Carolina staff. Voters, already upset by his support of an immigration-reform bill in Congress, gave up on him. But Trey Walker, McCain's state campaign manager, remains optimistic. "The McCain resurgence is palpable," he says, adding that the campaign is now at about three-quarters of its pre-July strength.

One other X factor: Fred Thompson, the onetime darling of Southern conservatives, with an endorsement from National Right to Life, who has mounted an aggressive bus tour to save his fountaining campaign. If he gets traction, he could erode Huckabee's support among the pro-life base of the party.

On Jan. 8, Huckabee's South Carolina chairman, the state's former Governor, David Beasley, stood behind Huckabee as he celebrated his third-place finish in New Hampshire. In an interview afterward, Beasley argued that Huckabee could be an unstoppable force, marrying his populist momentum from Iowa with an Establishment tie to the state as a fellow Southern Governor. "McCain will get a small bump," Beasley said of the Arizona Senator's New Hampshire win. But, he predicted, it would not be enough. In 2000 Beasley backed another Southern Governor, George W. Bush, in a triumph over McCain. Eight years later, Beasley foresees history repeating itself. ■

Viewpoint: Dahlia Lithwick

The Tracks of Her Tears

When Hillary (nearly) wept, women voters saw not just her femininity but also her humanity

IT'S BEEN ABOUT 100 YEARS SINCE Sigmund Freud first asked in exaggeration, "What do women want?" This week voters in New Hampshire answered that query definitively: A tissue.

When Hillary Clinton defied all odds to nab New Hampshire from the Barack Obama juggernaut, the punditocracy was quick to attribute the reversal to a moment the day before, when Clinton teared up at a diner in Portsmouth, N.H. Responding to a question on how she remained so "upbeat and wonderful," Clinton, voice cracking, said, "This is very personal for me. It's not just political. It's not just public."

In a nanosecond, women who had swooned for Obama did a double take for Clinton. In Iowa, Obama had tidily won female voters, 35% to Clinton's 30%; five days later, those numbers flipped, and Clinton carried women, 47% to 34%. More striking still was the turnaround among unmarried women—somewhat snottily referred to as the "spinster" vote—whom Obama had won by 13 percentage points in Iowa. That demographic swung 30 points in Clinton's favor in New Hampshire.

The mere opening of a tear duct seemed to expose the gender issue that had percolated under the surface of this Democratic race. The media have been quick to repackage New Hampshire as a referendum on feminism. On the day of the primary, feminist icon Gloria Steinem scolded New York Times readers for abandoning the cause, warning women that the "sex barrier [is] not taken as seriously as the racial one."

The folks who have always accused

the Clintons of being phonies quickly pronounced the incident a ploy. William Kristol: "She pretended to cry, the women felt sorry for her, and she won." Maureen Dowd: "Can Hillary cry her way back to the White House?" For those of us, particularly women, who had waited to see what would happen if Hillary offered a glimpse of who she really is, hearing her blasted for being manipulative when she finally lowered her cast-iron shield might have cut too close to the bone.

But the gender card resonated, mostly because it turned the men around Clinton into brutes. Whether it was Obama's sounding a rare sour note by assuring the candidate she was "likable enough" or John Edwards' implying that her Portsmouth tears rendered Clinton somehow unfit for the "tough business" of governance, every woman who's ever been asked whether it's *that* time of the month must have felt some kinship.

It's not clear to me that the women who took a second look at Clinton last week did so because she cried or because the media chose to turn a single checked tear into a sprawling metaphor. I suspect that what actually happened was that Clinton finally revealed she wasn't an android programmed to spit out polling data and talking points as well as the boys. Until New Hampshire, Clinton seemed to carry herself like a President trapped inside a woman's body. Punishing the real Hillary for struggling out is not the way to appeal to women voters. ■



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Ramesh

Ponnuru

McCain's Independent Streak. The GOP needs swing voters to keep the White House. Only one candidate can win them

JOHN MCCAIN'S TOWN-HALL MEETINGS in New Hampshire the weekend before he won the primary were packed—a fire marshal had to keep overflow people from entering one of them—and not with conservatives. At a school in Salem, the Republican fielded question after question from his left. What would he do to promote gun control? How would he fight global warming? How could he justify not raising taxes? More than an hour into the event, a woman got up and complained about liberal smear artists. She was the first questioner who was obviously a Republican.

McCain was usually the most conservative speaker at his town halls. He mentioned that he favored some restrictions on guns but also said he supported the Second Amendment. Nuclear power is part of his answer to climate change. What the town halls showed is that McCain is a moderate conservative who appeals to people who are a few steps to his left. (Sometimes quite a few: when the talk turned to taxes, McCain asked people who wanted to pay higher taxes to raise their hands and seemed surprised when several people did.)

Appeal to independent voters—those not tied to either party—is an increasingly rare commodity in McCain's party. Republicans used to think they could ignore independents because many were independent in name only, reliably voting for one party or the other without joining it.

Republicans are not looking for issues on which conservatives and independents agree. Call it the closing of the conservative mind. McCain wants to reopen his party

And independents have long been vital to the Democrats: since more Americans consider themselves conservatives than liberals, Democrats have to win big among moderates to get a majority.

The midterm elections should have been a wake-up call for Republicans. Conservatives showed up in the usual numbers to vote for the GOP. But some Republican-leaning independents switched sides, and the Democrats got



Big bus, big tent McCain on his Straight Talk Express, in Salem, N.H.

57% of all independents. If Republicans don't win some of them back, the GOP is headed for a long spell in the minority.

Several of the GOP candidates have qualities that might appeal to independent voters: Rudy Giuliani's successful record as mayor of New York City, Mitt Romney's intelligence and competence, Mike Huckabee's concern for the poor. But McCain just won more independent voters than the others in the swing state of New Hampshire. And he is the only candidate with a platform that might attract them.

Huckabee's radical tax plan—replacing the income and payroll tax with a national sales tax—is a right-wing cause. Giuliani's support for legal abortion repels some independents while attracting others—and to make up for

it with conservatives, he has toed the line on just about everything else. Romney and Fred Thompson have been too busy trying to prove their movement-conservative creds to pay attention to independents.

A lot of Republicans are raising the drawbridge—and not only against foreigners. They're not looking for issues on which conservatives and independents agree or can find common ground. Call it the closing of the conservative mind.

McCain wants to reopen his party. Young voters have been fleeing it. McCain goes on Jon Stewart's show—"at great risk," he cracks. He has free-

wheeling conversations with reporters, which have helped win him good press. "I kind of enjoy the give-and-take," he says. "I really believe that Presidents run into difficulties when they don't communicate all the time with the American people."

He didn't have to underline the contrast with President George W. Bush, who has spent most of his time in office muscling legislation through a Republican Congress rather than

trying to persuade the public to his way of thinking. McCain's style would be different.

In ways large and small, McCain distances himself from a President whom independents loathe. Bush infamously said he looked into Vladimir Putin's soul when he met the Russian strongman. McCain doesn't explicitly mention it. He just says that all he sees in Putin's eyes are "a K, a G and a B."

The Senator is not a perfect fit for independents, and he would have an uphill climb in the fall. Economic distress is moving some independents toward the Democrats, and McCain has yet to develop proposals to help them. But at least he has his eye on the prize at a time when his party has become a kingdom of the blind.



The Demons That Still Haunt Africa

Violence in Kenya, one of its most stable nations, shows that the continent's old ills—poverty, corruption, tribalism—are far from cured

BY ALEX PERRY/ELDORET AND LAURA BLUE/LONDON

Razed by an ancient tribal rage A section of the Rift Valley town of Burnt Forest, the scene of some of the worst violence after the disputed Dec. 27 election



Kenya in Crisis
For more photos of the upheaval in Kenya, go to time.com/kenya



HIgh up in the mountains of the northern Rift Valley is the village of Kiambaa, a place of maize farms and mud huts where the air is so light and pure, it is said to hold the secret of Kenya's world-beating distance runners, who train in the surrounding hills. On New Year's Day, a mob of several hundred people armed with machetes, clubs and bows and arrows surrounded Kiambaa's tiny tin-roofed church, where up to 200 men, women and children were huddled. The mob freed those who gave up mobile phones or money, raped the women, then closed the doors on the rest, heaped mattresses and dry maize leaves against the

entrances and set them alight. The Kenyan Red Cross pulled 17 bodies from the ruins. Survivors put the death toll at 35.

At least one body, that of a young man called James, lay in a nearby field, where he collapsed after running out of the church with his hair and face on fire. Daniel Mwangi Nganga, 37, whose disabled brother was hacked to death in the family home as the crowd approached the church, recognized the killers as friends and neighbors. "We went to school together," he says. "They used to come to our homes. We prayed together." He searched for an explanation. "We just don't know what happened."

It wasn't supposed to happen in Kenya. Until a few weeks ago, this country of 37 million was a poster nation of the African renaissance, a term adopted by South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki to describe the continent's economic and political resurgence in recent years. After three decades beset by genocide, famine, AIDS and wars as obscure as they were endless, much of Africa is thriving. Soaring demand for resources like oil, timber and minerals—especially from China—has pushed annual economic growth for sub-Saharan Africa to more than 5% for four years running and is inching toward 7%, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Conspicuous activism by Western politicians, philanthropists and rock stars has helped relieve the continent's debts and deliver billions in development aid. There is less war and more democracy. Peace reigns in the old battlegrounds of Angola, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Almost all African countries have held multiparty elections in the past 15 years.

Kenya is one of the stars of this revival: it has held elections regularly since independence in 1963, its economy grew 6.4% in 2007, and it has been a stable exception to turmoil in East Africa. But the outbreak of violence there following last month's presidential elections threatens that progress. A potential implosion in Kenya is especially worrying to the U.S. because the White House sees it as a frontline state in the war on terrorism, a bulwark against its volatile, jihadi-infested neighbor Somalia. Terrorists have occasionally slipped across Kenya's border, as in 1998, when al-Qaeda

simultaneously bombed the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, another neighbor. In 2007 the Bush Administration gave the government of President Mwai Kibaki about \$1 billion in military and other aid. And there are special-operations soldiers based in Kenya at Manda Bay, on the coast just south of Somalia. The instability in Kenya has so alarmed the Administration that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice reached out for help to an unlikely ally: Democratic presidential contender Barack Obama, whose father was from western Kenya and who has relatives near the city of Kisumu, the scene of some of the worst violence. Obama recorded a message, aired on the Voice of America, calling for calm. On Jan. 3, the day of the Iowa caucuses, he spoke with South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who had flown to Nairobi, the capital, to see if he could negotiate a peace. In the days since his Iowa victory, Obama has had near daily conversations with the U.S. ambassador in Nairobi, Michael Ranneberger, or with Kenya's opposition leader, Raila Odinga. Obama was trying to reach Kibaki as well.

Whether Kenya can be pulled back from the brink will reveal much about Africa's future. The nation embodies the best and worst of the continent—it's vitality and economic potential but also its poverty, corruption and tribalism. So long as those conditions persist, crises like the one afflicting Kenya will continue to haunt Africa, stunting its growth and hurting its people. The outcome in Kenya may well determine whether Africa's renaissance sustains itself—or turns into another nightmare.

Roots of the Rage

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE BLOODLETTING that has killed more than 500 Kenyans and forced hundreds of thousands to flee their homes may remain a mystery. Other questions are easier to answer. The immediate cause? A civilian coup by Kibaki, following a close race with challenger Odinga in the Dec. 27 general election. Three days after the vote, on live television, paramilitary police stormed the Kenyatta International Conference Center, where the vote was being counted and Odinga had a substantial lead. Minutes later, the head of the election



Shelter from savagery
A young refugee finds safety in a church in the town of Eldoret



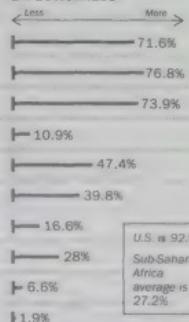
Mixed Picture. Amid widespread poverty and corruption, a few bright spots

ECONOMY

GDP per person purchasing power parity basis

Mauritius	\$13,700
South Africa	\$13,300
Botswana	\$10,900
Angola	\$4,500
Senegal	\$1,800
Rwanda	\$1,600
Nigeria	\$1,500
Kenya	\$1,200
Liberia	\$900
Dem. Rep. Congo	\$700

GOVERNMENT EFFECTIVENESS



commission declared Kibaki the winner. Kibaki was sworn in later the same day. That decision fanned simmering resentment against Kibaki's tribe, the Kikuyu, the largest of Kenya's 42 tribes. Though Kikuyus make up only 22% of the population, they dominate government and business. A 2005 report by the Society for International Development, a civil-society monitoring group, catalogued how Kibaki had packed his Cabinet, state corporations, the judiciary and provincial administrations with his tribesmen. The tribal animosities have been festering at least since 1963, when British colonial farmers sold their properties to wealthy Kikuyus, allowing them to encroach on the ancestral land of Luos, Kalenjins and others in the Rift Valley. Some blame also goes to the father of the nation, Jomo Kenyatta, a Kikuyu who founded the ruling Kikuyu cabal.

In Nairobi the epicenter of the violence was Africa's largest slum, Kibera, where a million people live in tin shacks and clapboard huts—without sewerage, hospitals or jobs—a five-minute drive from some of the city's most luxurious homes. Richard Dowden, director of the Royal African Society in London, describes Kenya's poor as the "explosive dispossessed," ready to erupt into violence.

They did. Starting on New Year's Eve, tens of thousands of Kalenjin and Luo tribesmen tore through the Kikuyu sections of Kibera, mirroring violence across the country. Few seemed to care whether Kibaki and his tribe would fight back. "If there's civil war, it is the Kikuyus who will lose," says Titus Odiambo, a Luo fish

trader. "It's their buildings that will burn. We don't have anything at stake." Some Kikuyu gangs struck back, but tens of thousands simply fled to the central highlands, where they are the majority tribe.

After a week of violence, Kibaki and Odinga came under heavy international pressure—and intensive lobbying by African leaders like Tutu and Ghanaian President John Kufuor and by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer—to reach some sort of compromise. But the question of who would rule was unresolved, leaving many Kenyans worried that the furies

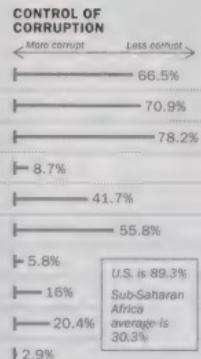
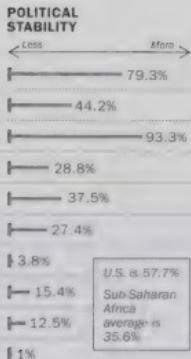
unleashed by the stolen election would lurk close to the surface, ready to break out at any time.

As Goes Kenya...

WHAT MAKES THE UNREST IN KENYA MOST ALARMING IS THAT ITS ROOT CAUSES ARE MALARIA THAT STILL PLAGUE OTHER, LESS STABLE AFRICAN STATES. The first is poverty. Despite Kenya's overall economic growth, 58% of its people are poor (defined as living on \$2 or less a day). U.N. studies show that the gap between rich and poor is wider in Africa than anywhere else in the world. Despite the continent's recent economic



The crush of poverty. As violence racked the country, desperate residents of Nairobi's giant Kibera slum stormed a health center where the Red Cross was distributing food



growth, the number of its poor grew from 288 million in 1981 to 516 million in 2001.

The second malady is corruption. Kenya ranks eighth from the bottom on the list of the world's most corrupt countries, compiled by the watchdog group Transparency International. Kibaki's government and that of his predecessor Daniel arap Moi have been dogged by allegations of dirty deals running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Kibaki's former anti-corruption czar John Githongo went into self-imposed exile in Britain in 2005 after he became disillusioned by the President's lack of commitment to fighting graft and faced death

threats. The government, he tells TIME, had "abandoned promises to equitably share power and economic opportunity, reform the constitution and fight corruption." Fixing the election result, he says, was "like throwing a match into a fuel drum."

As in Kenya, so in Africa's other powers. Africa is also the world's most corrupt continent, with 36 out of 52 countries afflicted by rampant graft. In Nigeria the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission says the country's rulers stole \$400 billion from 1960 to 1999. In South Africa barely a week goes by without a new corruption scandal among the business and political élite. A week after he was elected leader of the ruling African National Congress, Jacob Zuma was indicted on one charge of racketeering, one of money laundering, two of corruption and 12 of fraud in connection with bribes paid by a French arms company. (He denies all the charges.)

Finally, Africa's democratic institutions remain weak. Like Kibaki, many African leaders have a hard time accepting an unfavorable verdict from the electorate and walking away from office. "Democracy in Africa is not what is understood in the West," says Catholic bishop Cornelius Korir, whose cathedral in the town of Eldoret, north of Kiambaa, has become a refugee camp for 9,000 Kikuyus. "Since their wealth depends on power, our leaders are never ready to admit defeat." Incumbents like Kibaki, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni are among those who tried to alter their country's constitutions—some successfully—to cling to power. African voters are to some extent complicit in the undermining of

democracy. When given an opportunity to vote out one corrupt leader, they often elect another, hoping he will be more generous with his ill-gotten gains.

Reason for Hope

SO WHAT CAN BE DONE—for the people of Kenya and their 788 million fellow sub-Saharan Africans? For the West, part of the answer lies in holding African governments accountable for the graft and misrule that sow popular disgruntlement. The West largely contents itself with the appearance of democracy in Africa, not the reality, and gives billions of dollars in aid to corrupt governments. "The World Bank runs around establishing anti-corruption commissions," says Joel Barkan, a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington who was in Kenya for the vote. "They have been singularly ineffective." In Kenya the IMF and the World Bank suspended aid in 2006 but later resumed it. Threats to withdraw U.S. and other aid appear to have persuaded Kibaki to offer to share power with Odinga.

Ultimately, the emergence of a more peaceful, prosperous Africa depends on Africans themselves. That provides the strongest case for optimism. Some of Africa's most thriving states are places that recently seemed beyond hope. Rwanda, where tribal violence escalated into genocide in 1994, is reviving with relatively little corruption and subsiding tribalism. The IMF expects Liberia, shattered by civil war from 1989 to 1996 and again from 1999 to 2003, to post economic growth of 13.3% this year. There is hope for Kenya too. After all, the majority of Kenyans chose not to join in the tribal violence. Many civil-society institutions are strong and cut across tribal lines. Journalists, church leaders, women's groups, lawyers, tourist operators and even some politicians have united to condemn both the mobs and Kibaki, calling for an end to the killing and for the President to quit.

Still, memories of Kenya's unhappy New Year's Day won't fade easily. On Jan. 2 in Mathare, another Nairobi slum, a mob of people torched a gas station, burned three buses and two jeeps and slashed a Kikuyu man in the head with a machete. They chased another down a narrow mud alley and, when he slipped, beat him to death with rocks, then stole his wallet and shoes. There was nothing on the body to identify him, no one in the area knew him, and within hours he joined hundreds of corpses at mortuaries across Kenya, awaiting claim. Unknown. But not forgotten.—WITH REPORTING BY JOE KLEIN/NEW HAMPSHIRE

TAKAWAY

What's at Stake

WHY KENYA MATTERS TO THE U.S. It is a frontline state in the war on terrorism and borders jihadi-infested Somalia. U.S. special operations have at least one base in Kenya and work closely with its army. The country receives about \$1 billion in American aid.

WHY KENYA MATTERS TO AFRICA It has been an island of stability in a stormy part of the continent, with failed or failing states at its borders. Kenya is East Africa's economic engine; the port of Mombasa serves as the region's export-import hub.

WHERE THINGS STAND President Kibaki has offered to share power in a national unity government; challenger Odinga wants a transitional government to hold new elections. U.S. diplomats and African leaders like Archbishop Desmond Tutu are pushing both sides to make a deal and end the violence.

SPACE

Return to a Very Small Planet

Even as one group of scientists studies space writ large, another group is turning to space writ small, as the MESSENGER spacecraft closes in for the closest look ever at the tiny and mysterious planet Mercury. What the ship discovers could tell us a lot about the formation of Mercury's seven sibling planets and the solar system as a whole.

In 2004, NASA launched MESSENGER (an awkward acronym for MErcury Surface, Space ENvironment, GEochemistry and Ranging), and on Jan. 14 it will finally arrive, dipping to within about 125 miles (200 km) of the planet's surface. It will be a short visit—this flyby is designed to slow the ship down for an orbital insertion in March 2011—but even so, scientists are giddy over what it could show. MESSENGER will photograph the entire half of the planet missed in 1975 by Mariner 10, the only other NASA ship to visit Mercury.

Like all the other inner planets, Mercury is made mostly of rock surrounding a metallic core. But that core is so big in relation to the rest of the planet that Mercury, with just 5% of Earth's mass, is the densest planet in the solar system.

Nobody knows why that is so. It could be that the Sun's heat vaporized the planet's

SCIENCE

Lumps In the Cosmos

Something happened eons ago to turn the sea of particles that was the universe into the starry place it is now. New evidence offers clues

BY MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

NOT MANY PEOPLE spend time worrying about the fact that the universe is lumpy. Galaxies are lumps of matter surrounded by empty space. They cluster in groups—lumps of lumps—surrounded by even vaster stretches of space.

This raises two questions. First of all, why should we

care? This one's easy: the Milky Way is a lump, as is our solar system, as are all of us. No lumps, no you. The second question is, Where did all the lumpiness come from, given that the universe shortly after the Big Bang was a pretty uniform sea of particles? This is a puzzle that's had a complicated history, but it may be a little closer to getting

solved, thanks to an anomalous spot in a photo recently taken by a space-observing satellite.

Cosmic textures—weird tangles in the fabric of space-time that could help account for a lumpy universe—were a rage in the physics community in the 1990s, before satellite observations seemed to rule them out. "I lost interest in textures more than a decade ago," says Neil Turok, chairman of the department of mathematical physics at Cambridge University and one of the fathers of the field.

But in a recent paper in the journal *Science*, Marcos Cruz of Spain's Institute of Physics of Cantabria, along with Turok and others, reported they had detected an irregularity in the glow of radiation still smoldering from the Big Bang. It's by no means a sure confirmation of the texture theory, but they are encouraged, particularly because basic physics argues that textures should exist.

To understand why, think of an ice cube. It starts out as water, but as it cools below

32°F (0°C), it undergoes what's called a phase transition—the same stuff assumes a whole different structure. An ice cube doesn't solidify all at once; the freezing starts in several spots, which grow until they meet. Unless the crystals are perfectly aligned, you get a defect—one of those white streaks inside most ice cubes.

Something similar may have happened to the newborn universe as it expanded and cooled from trillions of degrees to millions to thousands. While this was happening, it





outer rocky layers. Or maybe
Mercury was one of dozens of
Mars-size objects believed to
have been zipping around our
newborn solar system until a
massive collision knocked off
its outer layers.

That's one question
MESSENGER won't be able
to answer until it gets a good
look at Mercury's surface minerals in 2011. The wait doesn't
trouble scientists, who for now
will settle for photographs.
"Every time we get our first
really good look at an object,"
says astronomer Faith Vilas,
a member of the **MESSENGER**
team, "there's some big surprise." This time should be no
exception. —M.D.L.

went through several phase transitions. Flaws in the fabric of space, similar to the ice streaks, could have remained, acting as gravitational seeds for the growth of galaxies.

Within a few years, new telescopes being built in the Chilean Andes could confirm if some of these flaws are indeed still out there. If so, that's one more nod to Sir Arthur Eddington, the early-20th century physicist who said, "Not only is the universe stranger than we imagine, it is stranger than we can imagine."

NEUROSCIENCE

My Nose, My Brain, My Faith

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA

YOUR NOSE IS ONE OF THE LESS complicated parts of your body, and yet we credit it with considerable intelligence in the area of truth vs. falsehood. We "sniff out a lie." We say "something smells fishy." Now studies suggest that something more than metaphor may be at work here—specifically, brain science. The same research may also shed unexpected light on religious faith.

Believing or disbelieving something is always as much about feeling as fact. Sam Harris, a doctoral candidate at UCLA, wanted to see what that means in physiological terms. To many readers, Harris is best known for his antireligious book *The End of Faith*. But he is also a neuroscientist. In a study

he processed in the area of the brain that makes us go "Blech." Sam Bowles, professor of human behavior at the Santa Fe Institute, describes research in which an unfair business deal produced a response in the same region. How did disgust get involved in the belief-and-disbelief business? Some think it started as a fairly straightforward adaptation to enable a suspicious taste, smell or appearance—like that of vermin—to trigger the impulse to eliminate the source. We may have then generalized that reaction to ideas. "When someone says something you disbelieve," Harris says, "it has a kind of emotional tone. Rejecting someone's statement as illogical or incompatible feels like something."

Harris guesses that if the anterior insula collaborates in prompting distaste for such disparate things as bad math, waterboarding and sour milk, it may also act when a religious believer recoils at the statement "God is dead." His next trial will test religious belief and disbelief. Can he remain unbiased? He points out that it's impossible to prove or disprove God's existence just by studying what humans think is true or false. Faith, however, is more vulnerable. He admits that those who regard faith as a communion with the divine, at least partly

independent of body chemistry, may object if he shows that it is "essentially the same as other kinds of knowing or thinking." Pictures from an fMRI would not make that case definitively—but Harris knows that nobody is likely to produce competing photos of the divine part.



reported in the *Annals of Neurology*, Harris presented 14 people with 360 statements designed to elicit belief, disbelief or uncertainty. He tracked their brain response with a functional magnetic resonance imager (fMRI) and got some very revealing results.

Statements like "2 + 2 = 5" and "Torture is good" caused an area called the anterior insula to light up. True statements like "2 + 2 = 4" activated the ventromedial prefrontal cortex. The ventromedial is thought to play a role in judgment, memory, fear and, according to one study, soft drink preferences. The anterior insula helps process fear, disgust and reactions to bad smells.

This is not the only study to have suggested that disbelief and moral outrage may

"[Disbelief] has an emotional tone. Rejecting someone's statement feels like something."

—SAM HARRIS, NEUROSCIENTIST AND ANTIRELIGION AUTHOR



Know Television?

To read more
by James Poniewozik,
go to his blog, *Tuned In*,
at time.com/tunedin

James Poniewozik

Flipping the Script

Late-night talk has returned just in time for the campaign. But some of the rules have changed



IN THIS NEW YEAR, THERE has been an earthquake in the public arena. Front runners recast themselves as scrappy underdogs. The public proved willing to back leaders who departed from traditional scripts. And both the competitors and the media scrambled to make sense of the new rules of this upended game.

Also, there were some elections.

O.K., the analogy between politics and the late-night talk shows breaks down eventually. When David Letterman returned—his production company having made a deal with striking writers—and late-night leader Jay Leno came back writerless, the stakes were not so high. And the hosts, unlike the candidates, share an agenda: all vocally support the writers. But late night and politics are symbiotic, needing and feeding off each other. And in a way, the talk shows, which returned just in time for primary season, found themselves asking much the same thing as the political world: What happens when you throw out the script?

You could argue that the two-month late-night hiatus was a blessing or a curse for candidates. The shows have long since been institutionalized as a free-fire zone on politicians, where ridicule is relentless and labels harden into epitaphs. On the first strike-era *Daily Show*, on Jan. 7, Jon Stewart bemoaned the agony of watching Mike Huckabee give a victory speech in Iowa with action star Chuck Norris—"Chuck Norris!"—looking over the candidate's shoulder, yet having nowhere to do a Chuck and Huck gag the next night.

In both talk shows and politics, we saw that reliability and competence aren't everything

But politicians also need the late-night shows, on which they can end-around the harder-edged media. The night before Iowa, Huckabee kicked off Leno's return, answering such hardball questions as "How did you lose all that weight?" and jamming on bass with the house band, à la Bill Clinton blowing sax on *Arsenio Hall* in 1992. Beats workin'.

Politics intruded on the writers' strike too, in complicated and ironic ways. Huckabee, who has cast himself as a worker-friendly Republican, took heat for crossing *Tonight's* picket line. Meanwhile, *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, TV's havens-in-exile for Bush bashers,

his writers delivered the kind of funny, competent show they had before the strike. But Leno drew 2 million more viewers the first night, while Conan O'Brien, winging a wild, anarchic show without writers, had the biggest percentage ratings bump of anyone.

Huckabee, in a way, was a perfect candidate to inaugurate a writerless talk show; whatever the substance of his message, he (and Obama) are also playing on the appeal of the unexpected. Likewise, Hillary Clinton came back in New Hampshire after tweaking her guarded campaign approach. Like Leno, she



Something to talk about In their first shows since the beginning of the strike, Letterman, left, showed off his strike beard and saluted his writers, while Leno, far right, gave Huckabee a pre-show platform

found themselves getting turned down by Democratic and left-leaning guests, since they were working without striking writers. Stephen Colbert, in character as a conservative pundit, railed against Barack Obama for pledging, if he's President, to meet with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad yet turning down the *Report*: "He's saying Stephen Colbert is worse than a terrorist. His words!" The strike, if it continues, could produce a critical talk-show gap. (Fortunately for Obama, *Oprah* doesn't have guild writers.)

In late night, there are votes too—ratings—and the results there were also a bit of a surprise. Letterman and

infused an established, old-school brand with enough difference to renew interest.

Again, talk shows are not politics. Tuning in to see if Leno screws up his monologue is not the same as voting for a change, and Leno and company were shaking up their acts not because of some ideal but because their corporate bosses made them. (And Leno's ratings fell off after his return night.) But in both arenas, we saw that reliability and competence aren't everything. The strike, let us hope, will not last all election season. But TV's talkers—among others—learned that it's not always terrible to rip up the script.



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¹Statistical Reporting ABS 2010 and the equivalent of the latest census reading during 2010-11.
²Estimated population ABS 2010, 30 June 2010. Source: ABS, 2010 Census of Population and Housing.

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—ANDREA SACHS, HEALTH, PAGE 58



□ TECHNOLOGY □ LIVING □ HEALTH



In rotation
Some records are
colored or printed
with images of
the performer

TECHNOLOGY

Vinyl Gets Its Groove Back. Flashy new discs and that old cozy sound have got the iPod generation giving LPs a spin

BY KRISTINA DELL

FROM COLLEGE DORM ROOMS TO HIGH school sleepovers, an all-but-extinct music medium has been showing up lately. And we don't mean CDs. Vinyl records, especially the full-length LPs that helped define the golden era of rock in the 1960s and '70s, are suddenly cool again. Some of the new fans are baby boomers nostalgic for their youth. But to the surprise

and delight of music executives, increasing numbers of the iPod generation are also purchasing turntables (or dusting off Dad's), buying long-playing vinyl records and giving them a spin.

Like the comeback of Puma sneakers or vintage T shirts, vinyl's resurgence has benefited from its retro-rock aura. Many young listeners discovered LPs after they rifled through their parents' collections looking for oldies and found that they

liked the warmer sound quality of records, the more elaborate album covers and liner notes that come with them, and the experience of putting one on and sharing it with friends, as opposed to plugging in some earbuds and listening alone. "Bad sound on an iPod has had an impact on a lot of people going back to vinyl," says David MacRunnel, a 15-year-old high school sophomore from Creve Coeur, Mo., who owns more than 1,000 records.

'Most things sound better on vinyl, even with the crackles and pops and hisses.'

—DAVID MACRUNNEL,
15-YEAR-OLD RECORD COLLECTOR
FROM CREVE COEUR, MO.

The music industry, hoping to find another revenue source that doesn't easily lend itself to illegal downloads, has happily jumped on the bandwagon. Contemporary artists like the Killers and Ryan Adams have begun issuing their new releases on vinyl in addition to the CD and MP3 formats. As an extra lure, many labels are including coupons for free audio downloads with their vinyl albums so that Generation Y music fans can get the best of both worlds: high-quality sound at home and iPod portability for the road. Also, vinyl's different shapes (hearts, triangles) and eye-catching designs (bright colors, sparkles) are created to appeal to a younger audience. While new records sell for about \$14, used LPs go for as little as a penny—perfect for a teenager's budget—or as much as \$2,400 for a collectible, autographed copy of Beck's *Steve Threw Up*.

Vinyl records are just a small scratch on the surface when it comes to total album sales—only about 0.2%, compared to 10% for digital downloads and 89.7% for CDs, according to Nielsen SoundScan—but these numbers may underrepresent the vinyl trend since they don't always include sales at smaller indie shops where vinyl does best. Still, 990,000 vinyl albums were sold in 2007, up 15.4% from the 858,000 units bought in 2006. Mike Dreese, CEO of Newbury Comics, a New England chain of independent music retailers that sells LPs and CDs, says his vinyl sales were up 37% last year, and Patrick Amory, general manager of indie label Matador Records, whose artists include Cat Power and the New Pornographers, claims, "We can't keep up with the demand."



Fun packaging Distinctive album covers like the Wailers' witty lighter-shaped *Catch a Fire* attract a younger audience



Diverse choices These days vinyl lovers can find oldies like the Ramones as well as new fare from acts like the Killers



Extra features Vinyl releases often come with photos and booklets that allow fans to feel more connected to a favorite artist



COMPARING PRICES

CDs and digital albums cost a bit less than new vinyl, but used LPs can go for as little as a penny

Average best-selling album prices on Amazon.com

	\$8.99	\$10.50	\$14.00
Digital			

Big players are starting to take notice too. "It's not a significant part of our business, but there is enough there for me to take someone and have half their time devoted to making vinyl a real business," says John Esposito, president and CEO of WEA Corp., the U.S. distribution company of Warner Music Group, which posted a 30% increase in LP sales last year. In October, Amazon.com introduced a vinyl-only store and increased its selection to 150,000 titles across 20 genres. Its biggest sellers? Alternative rock, followed by classic rock albums. "I'm not saying vinyl will become a mainstream format, just like gourmet eating is not going to take over from McDonald's," says Michael Fremer, senior contributing editor at *Stereophile*. "But there is a growing group of people who are going back to a high-resolution format." Here are some of the reasons they're doing it and why you might want to consider it:

Sound quality LPs generally exhibit a warmer, more nuanced sound than CDs and digital downloads. MP3 files tend to produce tinnier notes, especially if compressed into a lower-resolution format that pares down the sonic information. "Most things sound better on vinyl, even with the crackles and pops and hisses," says MacRunnel, the young Missouri record collector.

Album extras Large album covers with imaginative graphics, pullout photos (some even have full-size posters tucked in the sleeve) and liner notes are a big draw for young fans. "Alternative rock used to have 16-page booklets and album sleeves, but with iTunes there isn't anything collectible to show I own a piece of this artist," says Dreese of Newbury Comics. In a nod to modern technology, albums known as picture discs come with an image of the band or artist printed on the vinyl. "People who are used to CDs see the artwork and the colored vinyl, and they think it's really cool," says Jordan Yates, 15, a Nashville-based vinyl enthusiast. Some LP releases even come with bonus tracks not on the CD version, giving customers added value.

Social experience Crowding around a record player to listen to a new album with friends, discussing the foldout photos, even getting up to flip over a record makes vinyl a more socially interactive way to enjoy music. "As far as a communal experience, like with family and friends, it feels better to listen to vinyl," says Jason Bini, 24, a recent graduate of Fordham University. "It's definitely more social."

Diapers Go Green.

Eco-friendly and cost-conscious parents are returning to cloth to cover their babies' bottoms

BY PAMELA PAUL

MOST REASONABLE PEOPLE WANT TO DO one thing with a dirty diaper: get rid of it. Which largely explains why disposable diapers have become a roughly \$5.7 billion business. So it may come as a surprise to learn that cloth diapering is making a comeback.

But the new cloth diapers are different from the ones that your grandma struggled to get around her baby's bottom. While approximately half of cloth users still rely on fold-and-pin diapers provided by laundry services, new designs with cuties names like Fuzzi Bunz, bumGenius, Kissaluvs and Happy Heinys that are made to be washed at home have developed cult followings. Velcro, buttons and snaps have replaced pins, and the diapers are fitted with elastic around the openings to hold tight around flailing legs. In place of old-fashioned rubber panties, the new cloths use water-resistant covers made of merino wool, nylon or polyurethane laminate. "They don't leak or sag or get stinky," says Jenn Labit, founder of Cotton Babies, a popular retailer. And though cloth diapers cost

from \$6 to \$18 each, parents can take care of their baby's needs straight through toilet training for a total cost of less than \$300, whereas disposables may run up to \$3,000.

Companies that market cloth diapers have reported sales increases of 25% to 50% in the past few years. "The industry has seen a very steep growth curve in the last couple of years," says Labit, who started her company in her kitchen after being laid off from her job as a programmer in

is getting the best as far as his skin is concerned," says Natalie Brown, a mother of three in Fort Washington, Md. She tried old-fashioned cloth diapers with her first child and gave up on them because they were too messy. "When she was soiled, there was major spillage. It wasn't pretty," Brown recalls. "But the new kinds are much more functional. I'm not a huge green fan, but I love that I'm leaving less of a footprint."

The disposables industry and the cloth advocates have battled for decades over which diaper is greener. The Real Diaper Association, an advocacy group founded in 2004, estimates that 27.4 billion disposable diapers are used each year in the U.S. (according to the EPA, that translates into more than 3.4 million tons of waste dumped into landfills) and that producing those diapers also consumes huge amounts of petroleum, chlorine, wood pulp and water. Team Pampers argues that the water and energy required to launder cloth diapers cancel out those costs.

The greenest choice may be a hybrid produced by the company gDiapers. With disposable inserts and fashionable, washable coverings, gDiapers launched in 2005 and are sold in Whole Foods stores. There is one catch: the component to be flushed needs to be swished around in the toilet before it goes down. But the diapers come with a certain cachet: Julia Roberts, mother of twins Hazel and Phinnaeus, 3, and 7-month-old Henry, is a big fan. ■

HOW TO BUILD A BETTER DIAPER
The new cloth alternatives boast several features that promise to keep babies drier and parents happier:

Inside liners Some new models are two-part combos that include a removable pad that can be flushed down the toilet or washed and reused. Fans say they help reduce diaper rash

Cloth covers
Available in bright colors and cute patterns, they come with a pocket that can hold an absorbent pad

Elastic bands
Diapers are more comfortable and less likely to leak when the openings fit snugly around the baby's legs



27.4 billion
disposable diapers are used each year in the U.S.

HEALTH

Calorie Countdown.

It must be January, since everyone is on a diet. Ten books that claim to have the skinny on shedding pounds

BY ANDREA SACHS

EVERY JANUARY, PUBLISHERS flood bookstores with new diet titles for the hordes who inevitably make New Year's resolutions to lose weight when the year begins. This season's crop runs the gamut from fast food to vegan, and anticafeine to tea around the clock. Some of the books appear to be based on sound nutritional advice, others decidedly less so. Here's a small taste of the 10 most notable.

Eat This, Not That!

By David Zinczenko, with Matt Goulding (Rodale; 304 pages). Written by the editor in chief of Men's Health magazine, this guide is aimed squarely at male readers who eat mainly at fast-food chain restaurants. Its idea of a diet tip is to suggest eating a Big Mac (540 calories) instead of a Whopper with cheese (760 calories).

Skinny Bitch In the Kitch

By Rory Freedman and Kim Barnouin (Running Press; 192 pages). A companion cookbook to Skinny Bitch, the cheerfully foulmouthed diet book that became a best seller last summer, this vegan guide permits no sugar, dairy or white flour. Even coffee, diet drinks and artificial sweeteners are out ("Soda is liquid Satan").

How to Eat like a Hot Chick

By Jodi Lipper and Cerina Vincent (Collins; 168 pages). The focus is on low self-esteem—or LSE, in the authors' parlance—but there is also practical eating advice, like how to navigate Starbucks' menu: avoid lattes and anything involving the word *mocha*.

Slim for Life

By Dr. Gillian McKeith (Plume; 223 pages). This book is a helpful compendium of



A FEW OF THE MAIN TIPS

Stick to the basics
This how-to plan includes keeping a food diary, cutting out junk food, exercising daily and drinking lots of water

Drink tea 24/7
The author says a cup reduces the craving for sweets, suppresses appetite, burns fat and even lowers cholesterol

Eat meat, meat and more meat
Dr. Atkins is gone, but his low-carb, high-protein philosophy lives on. Just add exercise

Quit bitching, start cooking
A cheerfully foulmouthed cookbook that offers recipes built around fruits, grains, veggies and other vegan fare

conventional but still useful wisdom on how to get into a more healthful groove: cut out sugar, junk food, salt and white rice; eat more raw fruits and vegetables; exercise every day; drink more water; and don't shop for food when you're hungry.

The GenoType Diet

By Dr. Peter J. D'Adamo, with Catherine Whitney (Broadway; 317 pages). Naturopathic physician D'Adamo has identified six "GenoTypes"—the Hunter, the Gatherer, the Teacher, the Explorer, the Warrior and the Nomad—and gives food

dos and don'ts for each. The book comes off about as scientific as telling Scorpions they should eat only food grown when Jupiter aligns with Mars.

The All-New Atkins Advantage

By Dr. Stuart L. Trager, with Colette Heimowitz (St. Martin's; 362 pages). Protein is still king in this latest iteration of the Atkins diet (so go ahead and eat your fill of red meat, poultry, fish and cheese). But this time, the plan also requires exercise and a vow that you're in it for the long haul: "If you want to shed a quick 15 lbs. [6.8 kg] for your high school reunion or

your daughter's wedding and then revert to your old habits, Atkins is not for you."

The No Crave Diet

By Dr. Penny Kendall-Reed and Dr. Stephen Reed (Virgin; 224 pages). Food cravings can sink even the most determined dieter, says this husband-and-wife team. The authors believe that the keys to staving off pangs are understanding the emotions that trigger them and eating just three meals a day—with no snacks.

The Spectrum

By Dr. Dean Ornish (Ballantine; 386 pages). Feel better! Live longer! Lose weight! Gain health! Ornish is not shy about making front-cover promises for your healthy future, but he also gives readers tools to customize a lean, low-fat way of life. Health problems mandate a rigorous diet; dropping a few pounds requires less.

The Ultimate Tea Diet

By Mark (Dr. Tea) Ugra (Collins; 306 pages). The owner of Dr. Tea's, a garden and herbal emporium in West Hollywood, Ugra is a persuasive advocate of the idea that a well-balanced diet and exercise, supplemented by endless helpings of tea (in both liquid and food forms), are the ticket to fitness, not to mention peace of mind.

Women's Health Perfect Body Diet

By Cassandra Forsythe (Rodale; 356 pages). Get ready to eat five or six small meals a day and exercise six days a week.

Forsythe, a nutritional educator, also champions the dietary fiber supplement glucomannan, which she says "has the unique ability to instantly satisfy your hunger because it can be easily added to foods to make them thicker and heavier." Fabulous fiber or a fiber fib? Either way, the diet promotes fiber-rich foods—a proven boon to health.

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Critical issue: how to clean
the atmosphere without
choking off economic growth

Global Business

□ CHINA

Ringed in
A vendor pedals past the shrouded National Stadium



MEGACITIES

Airing Out Beijing. China's capital has made progress against pollution, but its Olympian effort still might leave some gasping

BY AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING

ON CHEMICAL INDUSTRY ROAD IN SOUTHEAST BEIJING, you can find saunas, outlet malls, hardware stores, karaoke parlors, tire-repair shops, horse-drawn carts piled high with persimmons and a hot-pot restaurant that specializes in dog meat.

One thing that's getting tougher to find on Chemical Industry Road these days, though, is the chemical industry. Two

years ago, the 48-year-old Beijing Coking and Chemical Works closed up shop to move to neighboring Hebei province, part of a multibillion-dollar effort to clean up Beijing's air before the 2008 Summer Olympics. To its neighbors, closing the factory was a huge improvement. Before, "it was really extreme," says Zhang Qi, a former steelworker who lives near the shuttered plant. "The air, one breath of it would start you coughing. And the sky was wrapped in

black smoke." Now, he says, the air "is so, so much better."

That doesn't mean it's good, though. Pollution in the Chinese capital still regularly hits levels two or three times what the World Health Organization considers safe, and on Dec. 28, the city's air-pollution index hit the worst-possible score of 500. With less than a year before the Games, Beijing, which made environmental protection a key part of its successful Olympic



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DIM view

Clockwise from top left: Filthy air darkens Beijing's sky; a coking plant was closed and relocated to reduce pollution. Yet as the city decreases its coal use, cars choke the streets, benefiting mostly car washes



bid, is in the final stages of a pitched effort to clean up its air.

Beijing is not alone. Across the planet, legendary brown-cloud metropolises, such as Mexico City, Los Angeles and New Delhi, have been grappling with the issue with varying degrees of success. For any megacity wishing to remain economically competitive, healthy air quality is a must. The critical issue: how to clean the atmosphere without choking off growth, and nowhere is that challenge bigger than in China.

Beijing has made modest progress in making its air less visible. From 2000 to '06, concentrations of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and carbon monoxide have all dropped, while the annual number of days that Beijing has met national air-quality standards has gone up, from 177 to 243. In 2007, Beijing had 246 "blue sky" days (low or moderate pollution, as defined by the government), but that's no guarantee that these Olympics won't be remembered as the Smog Games. "Beijing has done a lot of work, and our air quality has gone up year on year," Yu Xiaoxuan, an environmental official with the Beijing Olympic committee, told a press conference in September. "But for the Olympics and for the health of the public, there's still a gap. Compared with developed countries in Europe or North America, we're still not sufficient."

Beijing's gains have come as part of

a vast and expensive cleanup program. Nearly 60,000 pollution-spewing coal-fired boilers were switched to cleaner energy sources like natural gas. The city has shut down dozens of cement kilns, lime plants, brick-production lines and gravel pits that clog the air with particulates. In addition to Beijing Coking and Chemical Works, nearly 200 factories were moved out of the capital from 2000 to '06. The coke plant consumed 5% of the coal burned in Beijing. (Coke, used in manufacturing steel, is made by cooking coal.) By moving the plant, the capital reduced emissions of sulfur dioxide by 3 million tons, or about 15%. The Shougang Group, the country's fourth largest steel producer, will reduce its output by half and then move to neighboring Hebei province by 2010. "The emissions from Shougang, they're not only from the stacks, but from the movement of raw materials through the city," says Hao Jiming, an environmental-science professor at Beijing's Tsinghua University.

**Beijing:**

- Population: 12.3 million in metro area (12th largest in world)
- Air quality: 13th worst in the world in a study of 111 major cities (Los Angeles ranked 64th)

"That's why it's always been important to get Shougang to move out of the city." The steel producer's move could cut Beijing's coal consumption 12%, Hao estimates.

While pollution is a ticket out of town for some businesses, for others it is a welcome opportunity. General Electric secured \$300 million in contracts related to Beijing's green push, including work at Olympic venues. Among them is a rainwater-recycling system for the National Stadium and solar-powered lighting for the softball fields. The company is also helping Beijing reduce its dependence on coal. GE supplied two gas-turbine generators at a local power plant and wind turbines for a project in Hebei that supplies power to the capital.

GE's deals are signs that Beijing is serious about its environment, says Jennifer Turner, director of the Washington-based China Environment Forum. But she worries that neighboring provinces don't have the same drive. "I don't think they'll be able to do the environmental-authoritarianism thing," she says. "Factories are saying 'Not now. Hell no. We won't shut down for two weeks.'" That could be a problem even if the factories are hundreds of miles away. A study by U.S. and Chinese scientists found that even if Beijing reduced its emissions to zero, it could still face unhealthy levels of ozone and airborne particles during the Games.

Beijing's car craziness, symbolic of Chi-



Auto explosion Beijing is home to 3 million cars—and that's growing by about 1,000 cars a day. Also growing: traffic jams, accidents and carbon monoxide

na's growth, makes things even tougher to manage. Vehicular pollutants now make up about 60% of the city's emissions, says Zhang Hongjun, a former senior official with China's State Environmental Protection Administration. The city has 3 million cars, a number that grows by about 1,000 each day. No wonder there are midnight traffic jams. In August, Beijing held a trial that kept 1.3 million vehicles off the roads for a four-day stretch. Traffic improved vastly; not so the air, with pollutants cut only 15%-20%, half of what had been anticipated—a shortfall attributed to calm winds that failed to push pollution out of the city.

A partial ban on vehicles is likely during the Olympics, but there are no plans to reduce cars over the long term. Such an effort wouldn't fly with the growing number of car buyers. "Some people have suggested a ceiling for Beijing's vehicle population," Hao says. "But people would say, 'Why can government officers have a car but I can't?'" And China has promoted auto production as an engine for GDP growth, employment and tax revenue, Zhang says, all of which make for an unbeatable argu-

ment for continued unfettered sales. "The agencies and officials promoting the car industry are much stronger than those pushing for controls," he says.

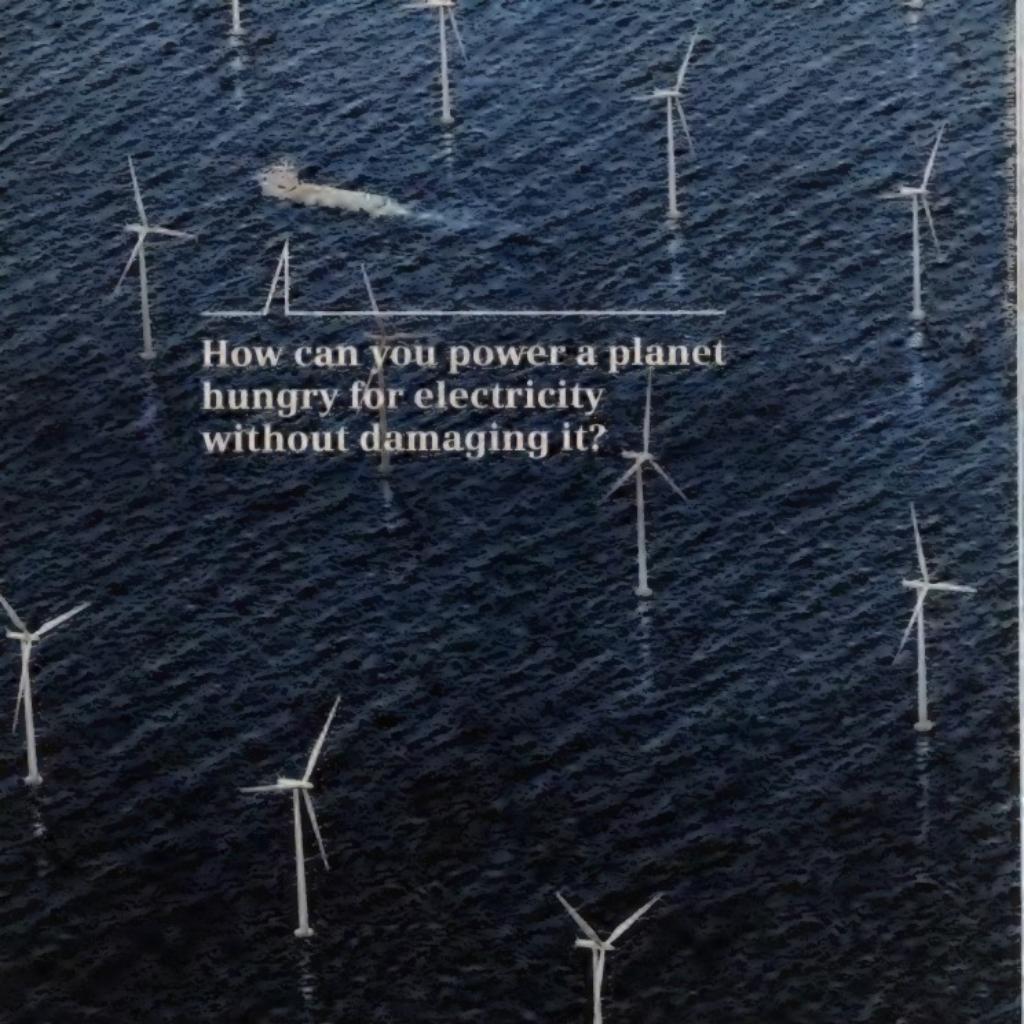
Oddly, official Beijing hasn't used its authority to improve public transportation, an obvious solution to both cars and pollution. Since the city opened its first subway in 1969, growth has been slow—until the Olympics made subway-building a top priority. A new north-south line was opened in early October, and three more will be finished this summer, nearly doubling the total mileage of track.

Those lines will remain after the Olympics, but the big question is whether

Beijing's environmental drive will too. "I don't want to say the city can't turn itself around. It can. But it takes more than good intentions and impressive targets. It takes real commitments," says Elizabeth Economy, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. While the Olympics didn't touch off a new effort, the Games didn't change the fundamental weakness of China's environmental management. The central government's power to enforce green initiatives wanes in the provinces, which often pursue development over environmental protection. The biggest risk, says Zhang, is not that Beijing won't stay clean but that the rest of the country could remain stuck in an ecological tar pit. "My concern is that Beijing will be something of a showcase," he says. "Improvements in Beijing don't necessarily mean improvements in the rest of China." After all, you can kick all the polluters off Chemical Industry Road, but that doesn't stop them from going somewhere else. —WITH REPORTING BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING ■

'The agencies and officials promoting the car industry are much stronger than those pushing for controls.'

—ZHANG HONGJUN, FORMER OFFICIAL, STATE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ADMINISTRATION



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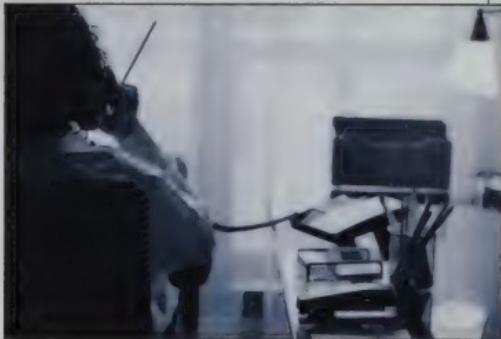
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Arts

MOVIES ■ TUNED IN ■ DOWNTIME



MOVIES

Performances to Watch.

This year's awards season will be downsized, but don't let that stop you from catching these outsize acts of skill

The Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu is the first man credited with the hipster's favorite aphorism: "Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know." We mention him here only to point out that we disagree. Actors and actresses speak, and the best ones, by the things they say and the ways they say them, make it plain that they know plenty. They know important truths about the inner life, the wellsprings of joy and grief and all the spooky byways of the human heart. And better still, they can communicate with more than words. They can tell you things with their hands, with their eyes, even with their walk.

The Golden Globes ceremony has been shrunk by the writers' strike to a press conference, which does not bode well for the other star-studded orgies of award-giving. But you don't need a party to fete feats of acting like these, which will remain when the glitter fades. —BY RICHARD LACAYO

'Did it make it more taxing that I knew [Alzheimer's] could afflict me one day? No. I found it a relief to think realistically about it.'

—JULIE CHRISTIE



PHILIP SEYMOUR HOFFMAN,
Charlie Wilson's War

TOM HANKS AND JULIA Roberts ooze charm as two Texas wheeler-dealers in *Charlie Wilson's War*; they know that politics is a game of seduction and gleefully show how it's played. Then Hoffman, as a midlevel CIA operative aptly named Gust, storms in to demonstrate how other people get their way. He bullies, breaks things and lasers an oversize intelligence equal to his rage.

Gust is the final jewel in Hoffman's 2007 triple crown. His other roles—as failing guys with father issues in *Before the Devil Knows You're Dead* and *The Savages*—were terrific too. The first proved his ability to live inside a schemer not nearly as smart or lucky as he thinks he is; the second, his talent for lending the requisite charm to an essentially passive soul who can barely cope with mediocrity, let alone a family crisis. Gust is a stranger to pent-up anxiety. The character's anger is as much a test of his opponents, a probing for their weak spots, as it is undisciplined venting. And because *Charlie Wilson* is a comedy with reams of expository dialogue, it calls on one of Hoffman's undersung gifts: line reading. He not only gets the information out but makes it seem like the high-speed conversation of one very smart fellow.

After an Oscar for *Capote* and more than a dozen years of lending his wily craft to every manner of loser, pusher and dandy, Hoffman should not be able to surprise us with his excellence and daring. Yet he does. His next role is closer to home. This sometime theater director plays one in Charlie Kaufman's *Synecdoche, New York*. He could probably play it in his sleep. But he won't. —BY RICHARD CORLISS

JULIE CHRISTIE, *Away from Her*

Away from Her is the rare film romance that assumes love grows more interesting, not less, as the years pass. The best evidence first-time director Sarah Polley offers for the strange beauty of a long, imperfect marriage is her close-up shots of Julie Christie's gorgeously etched face. (You'll never find a better case against Botox.) In Polley's adaptation of Alice Munro's short story *The Bear Came over the Mountain*, Christie, 66, is Fiona, a woman facing Alzheimer's disease with insight and wit alongside her grieving husband of 45 years,

Grant (Gordon Pinsent). As the memory loss deepens, Christie fluidly navigates the rapids of Fiona's quicksilver personality—from minute to minute, Fiona is frightened, flirtatious, resentful or wry. After her sex-symbol days of *Darling*, *Dr. Zhivago* and *Don't Look Now*, Christie moved to a farm in Wales and for the past 30 years has been more devoted

to politics than to acting. Answering questions by e-mail from London, Christie says the role was "an unexpected opportunity to share, in some imaginary way, this strange unknown new world" of Alzheimer's. "It helped that my character was so unusually clear-sighted at first about her quandary and that there was no solution to it." Christie credits Munro and director Polley with fashioning Fiona as a woman of courage and lucidity, but it took Christie's startling beauty and grace to give her flesh, and to force us to share her husband's grief as he lets her go. —BY REBECCA WINTERS KEEGAN, REPORTED BY JUMANAH FAROUKY



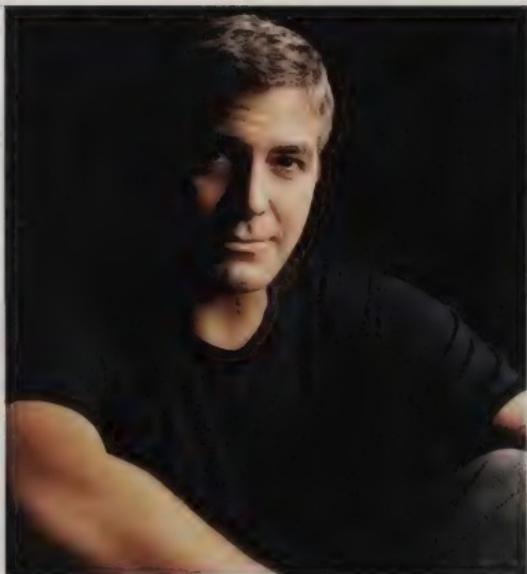
GEORGE CLOONEY. *Michael Clayton*

The title character in *Michael Clayton* could be a guy who's watched George Clooney movies and thinks, Yeah, that's me. I can pull off the shadiest deals and never lose my cool.

But life isn't like that—not in writer-director Tony Gilroy's corporate thriller about a lawyer and compulsive gambler whose financial and family entanglements tighten like a noose around his heart. It's a tribute to the actor within the movie star that Clooney looks haggard, visibly depleted. One more mistake and *Clayton* could explode, or evaporate.

"All actors like broken people," Clooney says. "It's infinitely better than being the hero." It's also more demanding to anchor a movie in which nuance trumps melodrama. "In this film, everybody doesn't have to get got. You're buying tiny bits, increments of what makes us all human," he says.

Clooney knows that his luck is as golden as Clayton's is rotten. "Without *ER*," he says, "I got none of this. But once I realized that I'd be held responsible for my movies, not just the performance in them, I started picking movies that I wanted to do and getting them made when no one wanted to make them." His mission improbable: "To force the studios to do movies that they don't want to do." Oh, some mogul will bankroll those ornery indie projects. As long as they star George Clooney. —R.C. REPORTED BY LINA LOFARO



CATE BLANCHETT. *I'm Not There*

THE GODS HAVE BEEN TOO kind to her. She's tall, gorgeous and almost garishly gifted. She has won more awards than there are awards, seemingly. To top off her list of crimes against equity (and Equity), she appears to be a decent person in a stable marriage. What else could fate bestow on this Australian paragon? Maybe an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor, a tribute to her creepily persuasive incarnation of Bob Dylan, circa 1965, in *I'm Not There*?

Todd Haynes' fantasia imagines no fewer than

Hunched over in isolation like Quasimodo, Blanchett's Dylan seems caged by the celebrity she, or he, is redefining

six fictional versions of the singer-songwriter, but Blanchett's is the wow. Sucking on cigarettes as if for life support, deflecting intrusive questions with gnomic jokes, hunched over in isolation like Quasimodo, her Dylan seems caged by the celebrity she, or he, is redefining. Like her Queen Elizabeth, her Katharine Hepburn and her Veronica Guerin, Blanchett's Dylan is impersonation as critique, imitation raised to art.

A gal playing a guy is quite a stunt, but to Blanchett, the gulf dividing men and women is no wider than the one between, say, a queen and the ex-junkie she took on in *Little Fish*. Each role finds the actress submerging herself in the character; each is illuminated by her onscreen radiance. Whether playing royalty or commoner, male or female, Cate is great. —R.C.



STEVE ZAHN, *Rescue Dawn*

TO WATCH STEVE ZAHN'S powerful performance as a prisoner of war in *Rescue Dawn*—Werner Herzog's Vietnam-era tale of survival behind enemy lines—is to witness years of his comic roles vanish in a puff. Gaunt, haunting and doomed, Zahn packs megatons of suffering into his anguished eyes. They're the film's most lingering effect.

And now Duane Martin is the actor's most stunning role. Zahn, who has spent the past decade-plus playing goofballs in movies like *Out of Sight* and *Daddy Day Care*, is very aware of how he's been perceived up to now. "The sidekick dork—that was the image of me for so

long and still is, to some extent," he says from his home in Kentucky. "But I live on a farm. I hunt and fish, I ride horses, I read military history. Those parts I played for 10 years were so foreign to me, it wasn't even funny."

Working in the stifling heat of Thailand under the notoriously demanding Herzog (who once transported a 300-ton steamship over a mountain for his film *Fitzcarraldo*), Zahn dropped 40 lbs. (18 kg), reveling in a shoot that took him deep into the wild. "If you go that far with Werner," he says, "out in the middle of the jungle, and you can't get into it, maybe you should find another occupation."

—BY GILBERT CRUZ

**AMY RYAN, *Gone Baby Gone***

It's great to see Amy Ryan smile, since she rarely gets to do that at work. Onstage in Chekhov or *A Streetcar Named Desire*, as Beadle Russell in HBO's *The Wire* and surely in her multi-award-winning turn as Helene McCready in *Gone Baby Gone*, Ryan nails roles that range from glum to grim. Helene, a single mother whose child has been kidnapped, is a holy horror, a potty-mouthed drug addict. Her only redeeming virtue is that, thanks to Ryan's fearless commitment to the role, viewers can't take their eyes off Helene. You never know what catastrophe she'll cause or career into next.

People who do bad things don't picture themselves as villains, and the Queens-born Ryan pegs the Bostonian Helene as a cookie who made herself tough. "I think she thinks she's smart," Ryan says. "She knows how to survive in a world without a man. I don't think she trusts love, so she's happier without it. I see her as a product of her upbringing, someone who grew up with a mother like herself. So I pity Helene. I also fear her, because she could easily kick my ass."

Wouldn't Ryan like a break from inhabiting misfits and sewer rats? "I would love to play some character who discovers love or who's full of positive strength. Someone who combs her hair! But the darker side of humanity is one better explored in the world of make-believe than in my real life. I have a lot of love and laughter in my life, so it's a lovely trade-off." Besides, there's an upside to playing Helene. "The part is delicious fun. Imagine getting to do all that and not having to apologize for it!" That wicked fun, and all those awards, are enough to make a tough cookie smile. —R.C. REPORTED BY LINA LOFARO

'First the actor needs to get out of the character's way. You follow the character without judgment or prejudice.'

—AMY RYAN

ELIJAH KELLEY, *Hairspray*

SINGING AND DANCING ARE retro skills in Hollywood, as practical, it seems, as learning to twirl a six-gun. Stardom these days means knowing how to pose heroically against a blue screen, not how to express yourself with a shake and a shimmy. So when a young actor boogies with as much exuberance as Elijah Kelley does in the campy message musical *Hairspray*, it's electric. Kelley, 21, plays Seaweed J. Stubbs, the



'I'm an actor. I'm a singer. And I dance. To have the opportunity to do all three on that big of a level was amazing.'

—ELIJAH KELLEY

James Brown of Baltimore's civil rights-era Patterson Park High. He's the one who teaches the kids in detention, white and black, all the fun new dances. In a movie that has a chubby John Travolta in drag dancing with surprising grace, it's still Kelley's suave, athletic performance of the number *Run and Tell That* that provides the sizzle. Kelley's breakout performance has earned him a record deal, and he has a pop-soul album due this spring. He also has a shot at a biopic about the young Sammy Davis Jr. Not bad for a guy who moved to Hollywood just three years ago, after growing up singing in a church choir in LaGrange, Ga., and taking just one dance class, at age 10, to meet a girl. "Performing is a rush," says Kelley. "You can express yourself without regret or explanation." He managed a pretty nifty tango in 2006's *Take the Lead*, but when he first saw the moves he was expected to do in *Hairspray*, Kelley was baffled. "I was like, I hope you have a stuntman," he says. Two months of rehearsals later, the cameras rolled. And Kelley danced away with a promising career. —R.W.K.

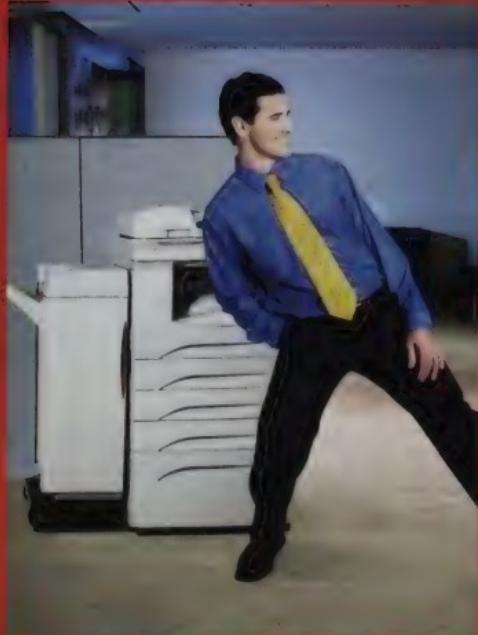
**MARION COTILLARD, *La Vie en Rose***

Years before she was cast in the career-making role of Edith Piaf, Marion Cotillard turned to the beloved French singer for artistic sustenance. "Sometimes I used her music to help me get in a certain state of emotion for a scene," says Cotillard, 32, who portrays Piaf in a roaring and technically virtuosic performance in the biopic *La Vie en Rose*. Cotillard, the Paris-born daughter of two actors, has been in 40 films, most of them French. She first turned heads at home as the driver's pretty girlfriend in Luc Besson's *Taxi* films. American audiences may know her as Russell Crowe's Provencal love interest in *A Good Year* or a vengeful war widow in *A Very Long Engagement*. To play Piaf from her lusty teenage street-singer days to her death at 47 as a morphine- and alcohol-addicted icon, Cotillard relied on a "balance of makeup, light and soul." The actress also had to let go of some of herself: she shaved her eyebrows and hairline to mimic Piaf's almost clownlike face. More than that, she shed her Gallic reverence for the singer known as the "Little Sparrow." "When you admire someone, there's a distance between you and that person," Cotillard says. "You have to erase that distance and put aside that admiration for a while." Dropping the awe left room for Cotillard to immerse herself in Piaf's tantrums, tragic love affairs and her raw, emotional stage performances. Lip-synching with close attention to Piaf's distinctive breathing and posture, Cotillard disappears into the role. Two years after completing *La Vie en Rose*, the actress is still the beneficiary of creative gifts from Piaf. Now they come in the form of award nominations and new opportunities. Her next project is *Nine*, with Javier Bardem and Penélope Cruz, Rob Marshall's film version of the Tony Award-winning musical. *Becoming Piaf* was, Cotillard says, "the best thing that could happen to a passionate girl like me." —R.W.K.

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Movie Music To My Ears

MOST MOVIE SOUND tracks sound like marketing. Songs are plucked from a name-brand band and inserted behind credits or a montage in the hope that listeners will follow, Pied Piper-style, into a multiplex. *JUNO'S* sound track is an exception. The songs—mostly originals created for, and in one lovely instance sung by, the film's characters—actually modify the story. Listen to them at home, and Kimya Dawson's clever lyrics and goofy, nursery-rhyme



5 Things You Should Know About. Woody falls flat; Cary and Deborah take wing; Jane Austen lands in the winner's circle



Movies

Cassandra's Dream Written and directed by Woody Allen; rated PG-13; opening Jan. 18
A reckless gambler (Colin Farrell) and his slightly more reputable brother (Ewan McGregor) fall into a crime plot proposed by their benefactor uncle (Tom Wilkinson). The wages of greed is the theme of Allen's third London-set film, which mixes improbable melodrama, strained comedy and fall-flat romance—a losing trifecta. C-



MUSIC

Pocketful of Sunshine By Natasha Bedingfield; out Jan. 22
Bedingfield may be too smart for pop—her lyrics flash an intelligence repressed by verse-chorus-verse—but she respects pop enough to deliver the brisk melodies and sweet choruses the medium requires. U.S. listeners are denied her not-as-dirty-as-you-think British hit *I Wanna Have Your Babies*, but there's enough to make up for the absence. B+



TELEVISION

Terminator: The Sarah Connor Chronicles Fox; Mondays, 9 p.m. ET; debuts Jan. 13, 8 p.m. ET.
It's baaaack. The movie franchise becomes a series, with Sarah (Lena Headey) eluding time-traveling androids with her son—and future defender of humanity—John (Thomas Dekker). So far, it's carried mostly on the scary-eyed charisma of Summer Glau as John's robo-protector. This grim *Chronicles* needs to put some flesh on its humans. C+



MOVIES

Persuasion PBS; premieres Jan. 13; check local listings
Think of it as *The Bachelor: 19th Century*. PBS kicks off a series of Jane Austen specials with this brisk *Masterpiece* adaptation about good-hearted Anne Elliot (Sally Hawkins) and the lower-born captain she was pressured to reject years earlier. Anthony Head excels as her status-obsessed father in a story of class, regret and second chances. B+



DVD

An Affair to Remember Directed by Leo McCarey; written by McCarey and Delmer Daves; out Jan. 15
Cary Grant and Deborah Kerr lend their easy charm to the tale of two strangers who fall in love on a cruise ship. A remake of McCarey's 1939 *Love Affair*, this 1957 romance inspired the likes of *Sleepless in Seattle*. But there's a grace and believability here that makes it the definitive weepie. Viewer advisory for the "50th anniversary" DVD: bring hankies. A



Scores! *Music for There Will Be Blood*, top, and *Juno*, above, gets in deep

delivery sustain the film's sweetness.

The **THERE WILL BE BLOOD** sound track is sweet like barbed wire. (Technically it's a score, though as composed by Radiohead's Jonny Greenwood, it feels more like a bunch of individual avant-garde tracks than your typical James Horner schmaltzfest.) But with its charged strings and melodies emerging out of chaos, it too becomes entwined with the film's disposition. Both albums are a reminder that listening to the movies can be just as thrilling as seeing them.

—BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

Extreme Eating

Our reporter goes global—actually, just to Whole Foods—in search of the perfect meal

BY JOEL STEIN

I KNEW THE FARM-TO-TABLE MOVEMENT WAS OUT OF control when Chris Dodd mentioned it at a presidential campaign event in Muscatine, Iowa. Eating food grown within 100 miles was, he argued, an important part of the new American dream. It was clear to me why a Northeastern liberal would never be President. I expected him to propose reducing poverty with rebates on iPhones.

Dodd was basically telling the Iowans that every night they should decide whether to accompany their pork with creamed corn, corn on the cob, corn fritters or corn bread. For dessert, they could have any flavor they wanted of fake ice cream made from soy, provided that flavor was corn.

I can get off on a local heirloom tomato as much as anyone else. Or a fresh California date, crispy with tart honey that I can get only for a few weeks in Southern California. Or breaded sautéed abalone when I'm in Monterey. But the idea that this is the best way to eat, that most of our food should really come from within 100 miles, that farm-to-table produces a superior diet, is antiglobalization idiocy.

Eating in the 21st century is part travel, part cultural mash-up. Sure, there are towns in Italy and France that eat only the limited dishes they've perfected over centuries: carbonara or cassoulet. And it's amazing to eat in those towns, or to down tapas at a stall in the middle of the Boqueria farmers' market in Barcelona. But those villagers are just luckier versions of people who eat at their local McDonald's every day. I want the world to come to me, to see it shrink so small it fits on my plate. I want Maine lobster in broth flavored with Spanish saffron. I want Alaskan salmon, truffles from Europe, a bottle of Beaujolais, a damn pineapple. And I want them much more than I want that carrot you grew in your garden. Because I know you're going to talk to me for 20 minutes about your carrot.

To prove how wrong the farm-to-table movement is, I cooked a dinner purely of farm-to-airplane food. Nothing I made was grown within 3,000 miles of where I live in Los Angeles. And to completely give the finger to the locavores, I bought the entire meal in the local-food

movement's most treasured supermarket, the one that has huge LOCALLY GROWN signs next to the fruits and vegetables: Whole Foods.

This, it turned out, was not an easy task. Farmers in Southern California, it seems, can grow anything. Still, appetizers weren't hard: Marcona almonds from Spain that were so much softer, sweeter and nuttier than any I can get here; Greek olives; Brie from France; smoked salmon from Scotland. I thought about getting a rack of lamb from New Zealand, but I couldn't resist asking the guy behind the seafood counter for the fish with the most frequent-flyer miles. I was going to get the opah

from Fiji, but then I spotted the Chilean sea bass from South Georgia island, southeast of Argentina—more than 7,000 miles of travel just to get eaten for a magazine article. Already feeling like some sort of insane European king, I added some asparagus from Peru to my shopping cart and, for dessert, threw in a pineapple from Hawaii (which was cheating, it turned out, at just 2,500 miles, but it looked so good and my sense of geography is so bad) and a young coconut from Thailand. When I got home and started to cook, I was thrilled to

find that my olive oil was from Italy, my salt was from France and the smoked paprika I doused the fish in was from Spain. And since I felt like red wine, and America can barely make a white that won't overpower fish, I had that Beaujolais.

My distasteful meal was more a smorgasbord than a smart fusion of cultures, but I still ate the way only a very rich person could have dined just 15 years ago. The local-food movement is deeply Luddite, part of the green lobby that measures improvement by self-denial more than by actual impact—considering shipping food in containers is often more energy-efficient than a local farmer trucking small amounts that are then purchased on a separate weekend farmers'-market trip you take in your SUV. So I'm going to keep buying food from my foreign neighbors. Because it's the only way we Americans learn about other countries, other than by bombing them.





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Allstate has a few ideas on how we can all help:

1. EXAMINE SOCIAL SECURITY.

Americans will not be able to rely solely on Social Security for a comfortable retirement. The Social Security Administration projects that monthly government checks will cover an increasingly small percentage of the average retirement in the future. There's debate as to whether Social Security should be repaired or replaced. But what's clear is that we need to reform it now.

2. BOOST RETIREMENT PLAN ENROLLMENT.

Company matches in 401(k) plans are one proven way to increase savings. Other innovative approaches companies can use include **automatic 401(k)**

enrollment, sometimes called opt-out plans; automatic increases in contributions as employees get raises; and encouraging both younger and part-time workers to participate. In one study, just switching to automatic enrollment resulted in a 30% increase in worker participation.

3. REWARD THOSE WHO SAVE.

Ultimately, everyone is responsible for their own retirement. That's why Allstate is a strong supporter of tax laws that help reward people for saving. Tax-advantaged savings vehicles such as **annuities** and **IRAs** are two examples of products that can help America build a strong retirement foundation.

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